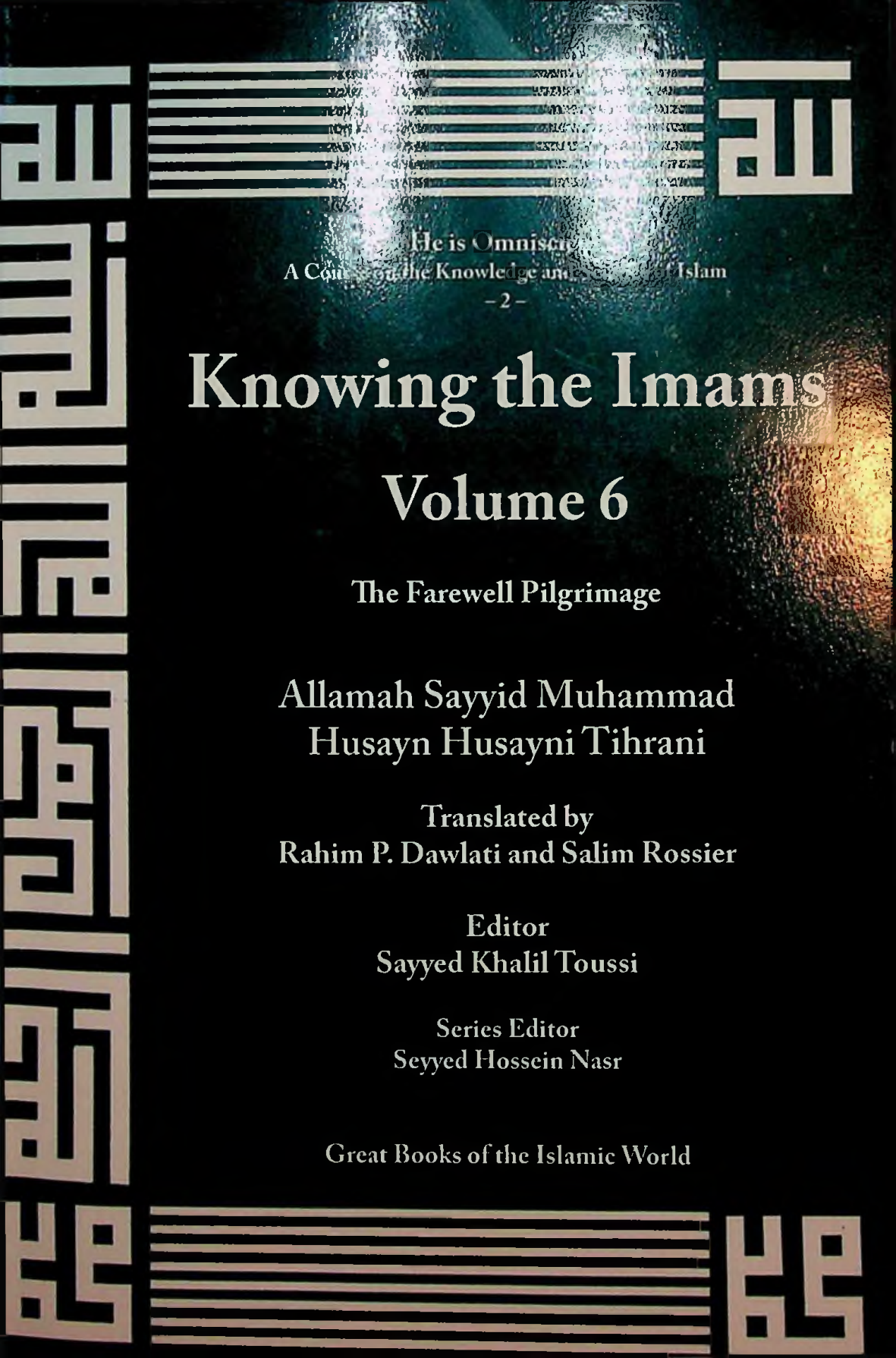
He is Omniscient
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– 2 –
Knowing the Imams
Volume 6
The Farewell Pilgrimage
Allamah Sayyid Muhammad
Husayn Husayni Tihrani
Translated by
Rahim P. Dawlati and Salim Rossier
Editor
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Great Books of the Islamic World

A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam

– 2 –

He is Omniscient

Knowing the Imams

Volume 6

The Farewell Pilgrimage

ʿAllāmah Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Ṭihrānī

Translated by Rahim P. Dawlati and Salim Rossier

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Great Books of the Islamic World

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Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
Allamah Hajj Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Husayni Tihrani
Knowing the Imams, Volume 6
• 1. Islam. 2. Shiism. I. Title II. Author

Volume 6
ISBN 10: 1-56744-564-0
ISBN 13: 978-1-56744-564-0

Note: While it is common in Persian or Arabic to place blessings on the Prophet or the Imams (you may find an "as," "s," or "pbh" or something similar after the names of the Imams), it is not common practice in an English text. Readers should just say the phrase of blessings in their heart when they see reference to the Prophet or Imams.

Published by
Great Books of the Islamic World
Distributed by
KAZI Publications, Inc.
3023 W. Belmont Avenue
Chicago IL 60618
Tel: 773-267-7001; FAX: 773-267-7002
email: info@kazi.org www.kazi.org

Knowing the Imams
Volume 6

A commentary on the philosophical, hadith-based, historical, and social aspects of governorship in general, and particularly that of the imamate of Ali Abī Ṭālib and the Immaculate Imams, may peace be upon them all.

Teachings based on the wisdom of the Glorious Qur'an and reasoning thereon, general and specific hadiths, and definitive critical discussions concerning governorship.

The most important subjects and selected titles of the book:

1. The absolute rights of Ali
2. A description of the *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* pilgrimages that the Prophet made.
3. The Prophet's anger towards those who complained about the Master of the Faithful, and his statements concerning Ali's role in the religion.
4. A discussion on the rules of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage and its differences from the "separation" and the "combination" *ḥajj*.
5. A detailed discussion on the process of the Farewell Pilgrimage and the preparation for the event at Ghadīr al-Khum.
6. Comments on the verse concerning the "replacing of months," and an explanation of how changing the months from lunar to solar is unlawful.
7. A detailed commentary on the traditions, jurisprudence, and history regarding the establishment of the lunar calendar within Islam, with reference to the verse that tells us that the number of the months is with God.
8. How colonization affected national and tribal customs, changed Islamic history, changing manuscripts and the language of Islam into foreign ones, and adjusted the religious time to Greenwich Mean Time.
9. The lunar calendar as necessary for Islam, and the mistake of including a solar calendar alongside it.
10. The harmony of the date and time as an important part of Islam.
11. How the decline of the Pahlavi Dynasty brought with it the abrogation of the history of Muhammad.
12. How the lunar year is more useful than the solar year.
13. Documentary information with an analysis of when the revenue operation of the colonializing National Council Assembly wanted to change the lunar date to the traditional solar year in three successive stages.
14. Commemorations and anniversaries according to the lunar calendar.

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Lessons Seventy-Six to Seventy-Eight

Commentary on the Verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

LESSONS SEVENTY-SIX TO SEVENTY-EIGHT

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may God's curse be upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection. And there is no power or strength except for the Most High and Glorious God.

God, the Wise, has stated in His Noble Book:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger! Make known that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, for if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message. God will protect you from mankind. Indeed, God guides not the disbelieving people. (5:67)

God delivered a stern instruction to His Prophet concerning Ghadīr al-Khum, and assigned for him Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as Commander of the Believers, guardian, and Imam, thus introducing him to the people as his successor.

The Grand Ayatollāh Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Qarawī's *Ghadīrīyah* [poem]:

Pass me the wine, O cupbearer, but out of the wine jar of Ghadīr,
O minstrel, play the harp, but in the memory of the Amir!

You too, O ancient sun and planet wheel, come down from the height,
Give us the pleasure cup and take our feasting.

The nightingale of my nature has become so,
That Venus in the sky was in harmony with the song.

The surrounding universe turned in circles
For the Master of the Spirits, the Great, the Highest;

The merciful breeze blew, the old world changed into youth;
The sapling of wisdom arose with full crimson flowers;

The majestic throne became the chorus of Chosroes,
The veil of darkness torn from the surface of the shining sun

The site of Ghadīr al-Khum flashed with lightning,
And changed its mode and received good judgment.

The early witness of the fest became the candle for the newcomer:
From that gathering, far horizons were brightened.

The false, evil darkness faded in his light
As the King became Saturn at the peak of the firmament!

When the brave one of God was lifted up high, by his hand
He cast favor upon the darkness around.

With honor, and respected by all gathered around,
By the command of the Emir, became the sure guardian.

A glad tiding! That beloved Emir and vizier of wisdom,
The foundation of unity, and kernel of love and kindness,

Washing away the root of dualism with his sword,
With the chain of his love bringing the firmament to its knees.

The victor of the world took his place as the Seal of the Prophets,
For he sat on the throne governing the world.

He took the world in his hand and became the kernel of the universe,
and darkened the faces of the jealous as black as tar.

The owner of the divine took the caliphate of the firmament;
He received the noble position of the divine to govern.

The treasury of complete wisdom opened his mouth to utter,
He initiated his word with the Name of the Fair, the Aware,

Saying, of whomsoever I am the Master, Ali is his Master;
As I am the document, Ali is my final seal!

I am the holder of the secret and Ali is the way to it;
I am the ground for the commands, and Ali directs them.

I am the illuminating Mount of Tur, the skirt of Sana is Ali;
I am the secret of "I am God," the Great Sign is Ali.

I am the white pearl, the shining pearl is Ali;
I am the intercession in the Hereafter, and Ali is the Guide.

Ali is the cause of the motion of the ring of the firmament;

Ali is the foundation of the rule of the earth.

Ali is the host in the place for which there is a guest,
And the surface of the land is brightened with his light.

The Joseph of the love of Kanʿān is the slave of his face;
The Khiḍr of the desert is thirsty to hear his voice.

Moses Ibn Imrān is keen to survey his features,
He who is the Solomon of love, but as a beggar at his door.

O you, with the beauty of your face, the majestic mirror,
This orator has no words to explain your attributes.

The horse of imagination has no way to reach you,
Although it is so thirsty for that pure water [seeing your beauty].[1]

وقالوا: على علا، قلت: لا فان العلى بعلى علا
ولكن اقول كقول النبي وقد جمع الخلق كل الملا
الا ان من كنت مولى له يوالي عليا والّا فلا

They say that Ali is highly respected and has a lofty status,
But I say it is not so, for Ali is the cause of respect, loftiness, and nobility, defining such high status.
And I say also the same words that God's Prophet said of Ali, when he had gathered that huge number around him:
"O company of men, know that of whomsoever I am master, so also is Ali his master and guardian, and if he fails in this, he has not taken me as his master and has not believed in my prophethood and the Qur'an that God has sent down to me."[2]

This poem that says that Ali is the source of greatness and honor is from Ṣāḥib Ibn Abbād.[3] It is of great import that greatness and honor are not spoken of as his attributes. This is similar to when the Prophet said: "O God, wherever Ali turns, the right turns with him," which does not mean that wherever the right turns, Ali turns with it.

These words of the Prophet certainly contain a world of wisdom. It would require too many books to explain the nature and righteousness of Ali. His actions, manners, and attributes must be considered the standard for the world, because they are all are based on fact. He is from the exalted Name of God, the center of guardianship, where alone reality is to be found. Truth exists where the exalted Name of God springs forth. Ali is such that all thoughts, opinions, intentions,

beliefs, attributes, and goodness belong to him. Whosoever has attributes like those of Ali is to be respected, but anyone who is his enemy is to be considered evil and wretched. No one should compare Ali's sayings and actions and consider some of them agreeable and others not, for this would only be the imagination of a mean soul that has not considered the facts. Such a one should abandon the self-interest and pride in his soul, so that it becomes clear that Ali is the actuality of the truth.

Imam Ali as the Essence and Standard of Righteousness

There are many great Shi'a and Sunni hadiths mentioned in the books by great scholars, such as "The right is with Ali, and Ali is with the right," and "O Lord, wherever Ali moves, the right turns to him and follows him." We will illustrate fifteen Sunni and elevn Shi'i hadiths from the *Ghāyat al-Marām* by Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī.

Narrations from Sunni chains: Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Hamūī, one of the great Sunni scholars, quotes through his chains from Abū Hayyān Taymī that Ali said:

قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: رحم الله عليا، اللهم ادر الحق معه حيث دار.[4]

"The Prophet stated: 'May God have mercy upon Ali. O God, turn the right to Ali's benefit, and may it move wherever he moves.'"

Ibrāhīm Hamūī narrates through his chains from his brother Di'bil Ibn Ali Khūzāī that Hārūn al-Rashīd quoted Azraq Ibn Qays as saying that 'Abdullah Ibn Abbās told him:

قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: الحق مع علي بن أبي طالب حيث دار.[5]

"The Prophet stated: 'The right is with Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib wherever he moves.'"

In the third section of *al-Jam' bayn Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* (*Reconciliation of the Six Ṣaḥīḥ*) by Razīn, known as Imam al-Ḥaramayn, has written of the virtues of Ali as recorded in the *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*:

قال: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يقول: رحم الله عليا، اللهم ادر الحق معه حيث دار.[6]

"The Messenger of God was heard to say: 'May God have mercy upon Ali. O God, turn the right to Ali's benefit, and move it wherever he moves.'"

In the first part of the *al-Firdaus*, it is related that Ali said:

قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: رحم الله عليا، اللهم ادر الحق معه حيث دار.[7]

"The Prophet said: 'May God have mercy upon Ali. O God, turn the right to Ali's benefit, and move it wherever he moves.'"

Muwaffaq Ibn Ahmad Khārazmī, after relating this hadith through his own series of chains from his father, Abū al-Ḥabbāb Taymī, says that Abū ʿĪsā Termidhī includes it in his *Jāmʾi*. And Ibrāhīm Hamūʿī reported that ʿIzz al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Ibrāhīm wrote to him, saying that, while in Wāsiṭ, Abū Ṭālib Abd al-Raḥmān Hāshimī Naqīb Abbāsyyin related to him by means of his own chains from Aʿmash that Alaqama and Aswad had said the following:

> We went to Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī saying: "O Abū Ayyūb, God, the Honorable and Exalted, honored His Prophet, and by His favor He has bestowed upon you something more, for you have become so honorable and noble. Now, tell us how you marched with Ali and struggled with the utterance of 'There is no deity but God.'" [8]

Abū Ayyūb answered:

> For the sake of you two, I swear by God that His Prophet was sitting in this very room where you sit now, and there was no one with us but Ali, who was sitting on his right side, myself on his left, and Anas, who was standing in the corner of the room, when we heard a knock at the door.
>
> The Prophet said: "Open the door for the pure-hearted Ammār." Anas opened the door, and Ammār entered the room and greeted the Prophet, who received him warmly. Then he told Ammār: "Soon after my demise, there will be harsh and unpleasant events among my nation. They will even draw swords against one another and some will kill others." While pointing at Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, he continued:
>
> فعليك بهذا الاصلع عن يميني ـ يعني علي بن أبي طالب ـ فان سلك الناس كلهم واديا و سلك علي واديا فاسلك وادي عليّ عليه السلام وخل عن الناس، يا عمار ان عليا لا يردك عن هدى، ولا يدلك على ردى، يا عمار طاعة عليّ طاعتي، وطاعتي طاعة الله عزوجل.[9]
>
> So, if you witness this, it is your duty to back this man with short hair in the front sitting on my right, who is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. Thenceforth, if all the others were to take one side and Ali were alone on the other, you are to leave the others and go and stand with Ali. O Ammār, Ali will not turn you away from the straight path, and never will he lead you to abjection. O

> Ammār, to obey Ali is to obey me, and to obey me is to obey God, the Honorable and Exalted.

Sunni hadiths include the following in the book *Amālī*, where Shaykh Ṭūsī narrates through his chains:

مالك بن حفويه عن ام سلمة رضى الله عنها قالت: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله يقول وهو آخذ بكف علي عليه السلام: الحق بعدى مع علي عليه السلام يدور معه حيث دار.[10]

"Umm Salama said: 'While holding Ali's hand high, I heard the Prophet say: "After me, the right is with Ali, and wherever he moves, the right will follow him."'"

In the same book, Shaykh Ṭūsī narrates through his chains from a group of people quoting Abū al-Mufaḍḍal:

صلة بن زفر انه ادخل راسه تحت الثوب بعد ما سجى على حذيفة، فقال له: ان هذه الفتنة قد وقعت، فما تامرني قال: اذا انت فرغت من دفني، فشد على راحلتك والحق بعلي عليه السلام فانه على الحق والحق لا يفارقه.[11]

Ṣilat Ibn Zufar said:

> When Ḥudhayfa's death was approaching, at the very moment when he was gasping his last breath and they were spreading a sheet over him, I went closer to him and slowly said: "The sedition has taken place. Now, what do you command me to do?" Ḥudhayfa said: "When you leave my burial, mount your horse and ride speedily to Ali and join him, because the right stands by him and never leaves him."

Ibn Bābwayh relates through his chains that Shaddād Ibn Aus said:

> When the Battle of Jamal broke out, I was neither for nor against Ali until midday. As I said, I had kept away from the battle. However, when the day was coming to an end, God inspired me in my heart to join Ali and fight alongside him. So I joined him and fought to the end of the battle. After the battle I came to Medina and went to see Umm Salima, who asked me: "From where have you come?" I said: "From Basra." Umm Salima asked me which group I was with, and I said: "O, Mother of the Faithful, I was away from the battle, but God cast it into my heart to go to Ali's side and fight."

Umm Salima said: "You did what was best, because I heard the Prophet say:

من حارب عليا فقد حاربني، ومن حاربني فقد حارب الله.

'Whoever fights Ali, fights me; and he who fights me, fights God.'"

I said:

افترين ان الحق مع علي

"Is it your opinion that the right is with Ali?" She said:

> I swear by God that Ali is with the right, and the right is with Ali. I swear by God that the nation of Muhammad was not fair with its Prophet; they preferred one whom God had branded, and they overlooked one whom God privileged. They kept their wives safe and secure in their homes, but took the wife of the Prophet from her house to the battle in the sight of onlookers.

Imam Ali and his Household as the Standard of Righteousness

والله لقد سمعت رسول الله يقول: ان لامتي فرقة وخلفة فجامعوها اذا اجتمعت، واذا افترقت من النمط الاوسط، ارقبوا اهل بيتي، فان حاربوا فحاربوا، وان سالموا فسالموا، وان زالوا فزولوا، فان الحق معهم حيث كانوا.

By God, I heard the Prophet say:

> There will be separation in my nation, so if my nation agrees on a matter, you too should join them. However, if they choose a way that is immoderate, then keep to the side of my Household. If they fight, you should fight along with them; if they make peace, you also should make peace. If they set out somewhere, you should follow them, because they are right wherever they might be.

I asked him who the Household were, and he said:

> They are the ones that God has commanded us to follow and to take shelter in; and they are the Imams after me, and they are counted as 12, like the chiefs of Israel. The Household includes Ali and his two sons, and nine from the loins of Husayn. They are the Imams and the Leaders of the Pure.

I then said:

انا لله، هلك الناس اذا. انا لله

"Therefore all people will perish!" He answered:

كل حزب بمالديهم فرحون.[12]

"Every tribe and nation are satisfied with what they have."

Through his chains, Shaykh Ṭūsī mentions in his *Majālis* from a group of narrators from Abū al-Mufaḍḍal quoting Aʿmash from Sālim Ibn Abī al-Jaʿd, who refers to Abūdhar, saying that Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb commanded Othmān, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿAuf, and Saʿd Ibn Abī al-Waqqās to enter his house and shut the door. They consulted about the caliphate after the death of Ali. He allotted three days for them to consult, and if anyone raised an objection against the group of five, they were to kill him; and if four of them united against one, but later on two were to change their minds, they were to kill those two. When all of them unanimously agreed, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib told them: "I would like you to listen to what I suggest, and if it is right, accept it, but if it is not right, then reject it."

All of them concurred, saying: "We agree, so tell us."

Ali went on to tell them of his virtues one after another, and he repeated what the Prophet had said about him. All of them accepted this, and so he continued:

أتعلَمُون ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله قال: الحق بعدى مع علىّ، و علىّ مع الحق يزول الحق معه حيث زال؟ قالوا: نعم.[13]

"Do you know that the Prophet said: 'After me, the right is with Ali, and Ali is with the right, and wherever he moves the right follows him'?" They all agreed.

The *Ghadīrīyah* of Ibn Ḥammād ʿAbdī

Ibn Ḥammād ʿAbdī[14] has described the Ghadīr festival wonderfully. Similar to other poets, he has written of the status of Ali as follows:

يوم الغدير لاشرف الايام واجلها قدرا على الاسلام
يوم اقام الله فيه امامنا اعنى الوصى امام كل امام
قال النبى بدوح خم رافعا كف الوصى يقول للاقوام
من كنت مولاه فذا مولى له بالوحى من ذى العزة العلام
هذا وزيرى فى الحياة عليكم فاذا قضيت فذا يقوم مقامى
يارب والى من اقر له الولا وانزل بمن عاداه سوء حمام

فتهافتت ايدى الرجال لبيعة فيها كمال الدين والانعام.[15]

1. The Day of Ghadīr is one of the noblest
For Islam, a precious day.

2. It is the day when God assigned our Imam
As the Messenger's successor, and the Imam of every Imam.

3. Amid the shade of the trees of Khum, his hand was raised high
By the Messenger, telling the people, "This is Ali, and this is I,

4. "And whomsoever I am master of, so is Ali his master.
For it was revealed to me by God, the Foremost Owner and Master.

5. "This Ali, during my life, is my minister to you, O people.
After my demise, he is my certain successor, and so,

6. "O Lord, be the guardian of those who admit well
His guardianship, and erase those of evil and spite."

7. Then the people hastened to pay homage to Ali,
The homage that secured the perfection of religion.

The Substance of the Will of the Prophet before the Migration

We have made it quite clear in our previous discussions that the guardianship is of fundamental importance to the true religion. We might say that it is the strongest pillar of belief that attracts all hearts and directs humanity towards Mecca, the direction of prayer. Therefore, in the hadith of ʿAshirah—which is discussed where we explained the verse of warning (*indhār*)—it states that Islam and the prophethood of the Messenger are connected to the guardianship and the acceptance of the high status of Ali. It is as if prophethood and the imamate are two branches from one trunk, or like two infants that suckle together. The caliphate, the succession of guardians, is the continuation of the Prophet's guardianship. It is the preservation of the life and successful perfection of souls through security in the Divine, and a repose in the shelter of Unity, leaving the confusion of the world of delusion behind.

The Prophet invariably treasured this very important point, whether on journeys or at home, at night or during the day, in his privacy or among the people, relatives, and friends, and would proclaim that Ali is his guardian and successor. He would recount his

abundant virtues and vast knowledge, which would strengthen his guardianship.

However, no verse had been revealed to directly explain the matter before the Prophet passed away, and neither had he introduced Ali as his successor and guardian in the assemblies. Therefore, it is obvious that the assignment was a difficult task.

The first Arabs who were introduced to Islam were still accustomed to the Age of Ignorance, and they neither understood the significance of prophethood, nor were able clearly to articulate the difference between their previous disbelief and the new religion. They regarded guardianship simply as a kind of leadership. There were also a great many hypocrites among them with their own impropriety and enmity. They were uncomfortable with the idea of guardianship, just as they had not accepted the Prophet at first.

The Prophet spread God's message to the people and thoroughly elucidated it for twenty-three years: thirteen years in Mecca and ten in Medina. He explained the principles of knowledge and social conduct, the One God, the sending of the messengers and their revelations, and the meeting with God on the Day of Resurrection. He told the people of the causes of corruption and cruelty, and the way of protection, sincerity, and bliss, perfecting God's religion and making His blessings known. It was his task to assign Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as caliph and guardian to administer to the nation after him. He wanted to seal the mission of prophethood and complete the dissemination of God's religion, and to let the people know that the blessings of the Divine are constantly with them. It was his intention to strengthen the religion and protect it from any weakness that might happen in the future.

This thought was in his mind throughout his life, the last year of which he spent emphasizing the commands and recommendations more than ever before. He knew that he would eventually die, and that there was no one more suitable for the guardianship of the religion, the Qur'an, and the spirit of Islam than Ali, whose guardianship would be a continuation of his twenty-three years of prophethood and guidance on the established path. In fact, the prophethood would be unfinished without a guardian, and all his struggle for Islam would have been in vain.

So, in his final year, the Prophet did his best to announce the successorship and guardianship of Ali, and finally he received God's command and authority to announce the guardianship openly to all the people. He did this in a place where the people could come together and then convey the announcement to those who were absent.

The Name of the Prophet's Last *Ḥajj* Pilgrimage

In that final year, which was the tenth year of the Migration, the Prophet embarked upon the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, and this was announced to the people. The journey was no ordinary one, because the Prophet had made preparations and was well equipped for the journey. All his wives were with him, each of them sitting on a separate camel in their pilgrimage garb, setting off from the Shajarah Mosque towards Mecca. With them were all the companions and his close relatives, but they were greatly outnumbered by the people of Medina following them: men, women, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, all in their white pilgrimage garb. The narrators and historians have told how there were 120,000 or more people moving towards Mecca. In short, every single capable person, by whatever means at his disposal, set out for Mecca with the caravan. Only the sick and frail were left behind, but all the others were with the Prophet on this great journey.

After the Migration from Mecca to Medina, the Prophet made only this one *ḥajj* pilgrimage in the tenth year. However, he had made three minor pilgrimages (*ʿumra*). The first was when he had set out with his companions for the *ḥajj*, and the disbelievers blocked their entry to Mecca. He then commanded his companions to cut their hair at the place where they had been stopped from entering Mecca, and sacrifice their camels to free themselves from the *ḥajj* rites. Then an agreement was made with the disbelievers that he could go on the minor pilgrimage the next year.

The following year was the *ʿumra-i Qaḍā*, when the Prophet and his companions wore the pilgrim's garb, entered Mecca, and fulfilled the rites.

The third minor pilgrimage was after the Battle of Qazwa Ḥunayn. The Prophet had divided the spoils of war among his army and they were returning from Ṭāʾif, and on the way they donned the pilgrim's clothing at

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(Jiʿrāna),[16] and went to Mecca for the pilgrimage.

There is no difference between the Shiʿa and Sunni records regarding these three minor pilgrimages. However, Sunni historical records include one other as well. They say that the Prophet made the *ʿumra* along with the *ḥajj* in the tenth year of the Migration, that his *ḥajj* included the minor pilgrimage, and that therefore the number of his minor pilgrimages after the Migration comes to a total of four.[17]

However, most Shiʿa scholars reject this, and claim that the Prophet made only the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in the Farewell *Ḥajj*, but not the *ʿumra*.[18] They also say that every *ʿumra* the Prophet made was in the month of Dhi al-Qaʿda.[19]

But had the Prophet made a *ḥajj* pilgrimage before the Migration, or before the time of his prophethood? The pilgrimage was established by Abraham, and the disbelievers in the Arabian Peninsula before Islam would also follow his tradition of the pilgrimage with certain differences. Ibn Kathīr says that Muhammad made the *ḥajj* before the time of his prophethood, as well as before and after the Migration.[20]

Ibn Saʿd says that from the day he was appointed as a prophet until the day God took his soul, the Prophet made no *ḥajj* other than the *Ḥijjat al-Islām* in the tenth year of the Migration. Ibn Abbās found it unpleasant to mention it, as it was the Farewell Pilgrimage, and he called it the *Ḥijjat al-Islām*.[21]

Ibn Burhān Ḥalabi Shāfiʿī said that from the time the Prophet migrated to Medina, he made no *ḥajj* pilgrimage other than the Farewell Pilgrimage, but that he had made three *ḥajj* pilgrimages before the Migration. Also, it has been said that there were just two, when the Helpers of Medina swore allegiance to him in Aqaba. However, Ibn Kathīr said that the Prophet used to make the *ḥajj* each year before the Migration. And according to Ibn Juzī, the Prophet had made so many *ḥajj* pilgrimages that, apart from God, no one could count them.[22]

Ibn Shahr Āshūb records that Bukhārī has said that both before and after the time of his prophethood, the Prophet made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage so many times that they could not be counted, and that after the Migration, he made no pilgrimage other than the Farewell Pilgrimage. And Jābir Ibn ʿAbdullah Anṣārī has said the Prophet made three *ḥajj* pilgrimages: two before the Migration and one after, which was the Farewell Pilgrimage. Aʿlā Ibn Razīn and Omar Ibn Yazid have quoted Imam Ṣādiq as saying that the Prophet made twenty *ḥajj* pilgrimages. And Ṭabarī has quoted Ibn Abbās as saying that the Prophet made four: the *Ḥudaybīyya*, *Qaḍā*, and *Jiʿrāna*, and the *ʿumra*, which he combined with his *ḥajj*. However, Muʿāwīyah Ibn Ammār has quoted Imam Ṣādiq as saying that the Prophet made three separate minor pilgrimages, the *Ḥudaybīyya*, *Qaḍā*, and *Jiʿrāna*, and that he stayed in Medina for ten years and then made the Farewell Pilgrimage, during which he assigned Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as Imam at Ghadīr al-Khum.[23]

In the *Kāfī*, the author has quoted through his chains that Imam Ṣādiq said that after the Migration to Medina, the Prophet made no more than one *ḥajj* pilgrimage, but that while in Mecca he made many of them with his tribe.[24] But in the same book, he quotes through his chains that Imam Ṣādiq said that the Prophet made twenty-five *ḥajj* pilgrimages.[25]

And in *ʿIlal al-Sharāyiʿ*, the author reports through his chains how Sulaymān Ibn Mehrān went to Imam Ṣādiq and asked him how many *ḥajj* pilgrimages the Prophet had made:

The Imam answered: "Twenty-five openly and in secret, and every time he passed Miʾāzamayn[26] he stopped for a short while and urinated." Sulaymān asked: "Why did he stop at Muʾāzamayn and urinate there?"

The Imam then said:

> Because it was the first place that people began worshiping the idols. They had taken a big piece of stone from the mountain and made the image of Hobal, the same idol that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib toppled from above the Kaʿba. Then, when the Prophet became powerful and Islam rose, he buried it under the entrance of Banī Shayba, so that when people entered and left the house they would tread on it. That is why entering the house through the Banī Shayba gate is recommended.[27]

There are two noticeable problems concerning the reports of the *ḥajj* pilgrimages made by the Prophet before the Migration. One is that the Quraysh did not leave the Shrine during the *ḥajj* season and perform the rites of going from Muzdalifa to ʿArafāt, since they claimed that they were the greatest of the people, and should not leave the territory of the Shrine. Nevertheless, it is clear that the *ḥajj* rites include stopping at ʿArafāt. However, some hadiths say that the Prophet went to ʿArafāt during his *ḥajj* with people other than the Quraysh, stopping at ʿArafāt and then setting out for Mashʿar al-Ḥaram and Muzdalifa. The other problem concerns the timing. The Arabs of the Age of Ignorance would choose an occasion that was suitable for them to make the pilgrimage, irrespective of the lunar calendar, in order to benefit from the mildest weather. This is the *nasīʾ* that the Qurʾan mentions as part of disbelief. Therefore, the pilgrimage would have been at the wrong time, except for once every thirty-three years, when it coincided with the exact lunar month assigned for the *ḥajj*, the first half of the month of Dhu al-Ḥajja al-Ḥarām. This happened only during the Farewell Pilgrimage. And as we shall see later, the Prophet assigned it its proper time, and announced it to the people.

Therefore, if the Prophet had made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage with the people thirty-three years before the Farewell Pilgrimage, that is, ten years before the time of his prophethood, it would have been at the wrong time, and had the problem of the delay, or *nasī'*. Naturally, he would not have done so, because of the clear explanation in the Qur'an that it is obvious disbelief. So it must be assumed that he made his pilgrimage alone, and at the proper time. And apart from the hadith related from the *'Ilalal-Sharāyi'*, there are others that explain how the Prophet made the *ḥajj* in secret.

In the *Kāfi*, there is an explanation from Sahl, back through Ibn Faḍḍāl and 'Īsā Farrā' to Ibn Abī Ya'fūr and Imam Ṣādiq, stating that:

حج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم عشرين حجة مستترة كلها، يمر بالمازمين فينزل فيبول.[28]

"The Prophet made twenty *ḥajj* pilgrimages in secret, and in each of them he passed Mi'āzamayn, stopping for a short time to ease nature."

Thus, the problem of stopping is also solved.

Overall, the Sunnis have said that the *ḥajj* pilgrimage became compulsory in the sixth year after the Migration. Rāfi'ī, in his book *Sīyar*, considers this correct, and Nouwi likewise.[29] Some have said that it was in the ninth year, and others, such as Abū Ḥanifa, have said it was in the tenth. Some have said it was in the eleventh year, which seems quite strange.[30]

However, some Sunni hadiths relate that the Prophet had taught the people all the rules of the religion—the prayer, the fast, *zakat*, and so on—but not those of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage and the guardianship. These he taught on his last trip, explaining the rites one by one. Also, Ali explained the witnessing to his guardianship and the imamate to the crowd in his sermons in Mecca, 'Arafāt, and Minā, and how it devolved upon the Household. This he taught also in Ghadīr al-Khum. Thus he completed the religion and fulfilled God's blessings. Therefore, it can be said that the obligation to make the *ḥajj* was established in the tenth year after the Migration.

That same year, from the beginning of the month of Dhu al-Qa'da, the Prophet sent letters and announced to the people around that he had it in mind to make a *ḥajj* pilgrimage, and was ready to set out for Mecca.[31]

وأذن في الناس بالحج يأتوك رجالا وعلى كل ضامر يأتين من كل فج عميق ليشهدوا منافع لهم و
يذكروا اسم الله في أيام معلومات على ما رزقهم من بهيمة الأنعام فكلوا منها وأطعموا البائس
الفقير ثم ليقضوا تفثهم وليوفوا نذورهم وليطوفوا بالبيت العتيق.

And proclaim to the people the Ḥajj [pilgrimage]; they will come to you on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every distant pass, that they may witness things that are of benefit to them, and mention the name of God on appointed days over the cattle He has provided for them. Then eat thereof and feed therewith the poor and unfortunate. Then let them make an end of their unkemptness and fulfil their vows, and go around the ancient House (22:27–29).

The commentators[32] have said unanimously that this verse is addressed to the Prophet, whereas Ali, Ibn Abbās, and Abū Muslim have said that it is addressed to the Prophet Abraham, as the preceding verse states:

وَإِذْ بَوَّأْنَا لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ مَكَانَ الْبَيْتِ أَن لَّا تُشْرِكْ بِي شَيْئًا وَطَهِّرْ بَيْتِيَ لِلطَّائِفِينَ وَالْقَائِمِينَ وَالرُّكَّعِ السُّجُودِ

And remember when We prepared for Abraham the place of the (holy) House, saying: Ascribe no thing as partner to Me, and purify My House for those who make the round (thereof), and those who stand [in prayer] and those who bow and prostrate. (22:26)

The Prophet's Pilgrim's Garb on the Farewell Pilgrimage

This previous verse (22:26) refers to the *Ṭahhir Bayti*, so we could say that it is addressed to Abraham. Because of the form of the sentence, it is unlikely to have been addressed to the Prophet himself. However, as the proclaimer of the verse, the Prophet summoned people to the pilgrimage and told them of God's words through this verse on the behalf of Abraham.[33]

People started coming to Medina from every corner of the land to learn the appropriate rites and then make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage with the Prophet. In that huge gathering there was no distinction made between the old and the young, men and women, or the wealthy and the poor. Whoever could manage to make the journey was allowed to do so and fulfil the rites in the presence of the Prophet, and they could make the journey by any means at their disposal. Then all the

residents of Medina and the visitors, other than those who were unable, set out for the *ḥajj* with the Prophet.

It is recorded in the *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya* that as the Prophet was preparing to leave Medina for Mecca, smallpox and typhoid broke out, causing those affected to remain behind.[34] Yet such a great many people from Medina were with him that none but God could count them. It is reported to have been up to 90,000 altogether. Others have said there were up to 120,000 or even more.[35]

Mir Khawand Balkhī says that the Prophet equipped nearly a hundred camels of his own, one of which he had specially trained. He appointed Nājiyat Ibn Jundab to look after them, and Nājiyat said that he asked the Prophet what he should do if one of the camels was about to die. The Prophet told him that he should slaughter it, lay its collar in the blood, and hang it on the right-hand side of the saddle, but that no one should eat its meat.

Fāṭimah and the wives of the Prophet were placed in wooden cabins on their camels. Another report said that there were 114,000 travelers making the journey.[36]

The famous historian Khānd Amir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ḥusaynī said: "On that journey, lady Fāṭimah al-Zahrā and some of the wives of the believers were sitting in their wooden cabins on camels, and as one hadith relates, 114,000 people accompanied them, and all were chanting: 'God is most great! Here I am, O God.'"[37] This *ḥajj* pilgrimage has been variously called *Ḥajjat al-Balāgh*, *Ḥajjat al-Islam*, *Ḥajjat al-Widāʿ*,[38] *Ḥajjat al-Tamām*, and *Ḥajjat al-Kamāl*.[39]

It is known as the *Ḥajjat al-Balāgh*[40] for the sermons that the Prophet delivered during the journey, calling on God as witness, saying: "O my Creator, is it not so?"[41]

It is called the *Ḥajjat al-Islam* because the Prophet explained the rules of the *ḥajj* rites, and assigned the distances between ʿArafāt, Mashʿar, and Minā. He also explained how it was necessary to leave from ʿArafāt on the eve of Qurbān, which was something the disbelievers had put an end to. He restored the season of the *ḥajj* to its proper time, and according to the Qurʾan, he explained in detail how delaying the rites is a cause of disbelief. He also explained how running between Ṣafā and Marwa is to be included in the rites. He clarified the other rites of the *ḥajj*, including the circumambulations and prayers, and the particular importance of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage for those whose homes are far from Mecca. Also, after the descent of Gabriel with the Revelation, he spoke atop Mount Marwa of the perpetuity of the rites until the Day of Resurrection.

It is known as the *Ḥajjat al-Widāʾ* because the Prophet bade farewell during his sermons and to everyone he encountered. All these farewells became clear soon after, with the demise of the Prophet at Ghadīr al-Khum, eighty days after speaking at Minā and ʿArafāt. In his sermons he invited the people to recite the Holy Qurʾan, and told of how his Household would remain intact until the Day of Resurrection. Both statements are of great value, so that those who beseech do not go astray.

The reason it was called the *Ḥijjat al-Kamāl* is that the revelation of the verse concerning the completion and perfection of the religion came soon after the Prophet's sermon to the huge gathering on the Day of Ghadīr al-Khum, the day that God's religion and blessings were completed.

We should note that the large number of people who traveled with the Prophet to Mecca were mostly from Medina and places nearby, but those coming from elsewhere, and other lands such as Yemen, outnumbered them. Ali and Abū Mūsā Ashʿarī[42] also came via Yemen and joined the Prophet in Mecca.

It is also noteworthy that in the tenth year after the Migration, the Prophet sent Khālid Ibn Walid and a group of people to Yemen to invite the people to Islam. Khālid Ibn Walid and his army stayed in Yemen for six months, but his objective was in vain.[43] The Prophet then sent Ali with 300 men to Yemen. Before they set out, he entrusted him with a banner, put a turban on his head with the fringes hanging in front and behind, and commanded: "When you enter Yemen, remove Khālid from his position.[44] However, if anyone in his army wants to join you, accept him, and let those who want to return to Medina with Khālid do so. Try not to fight with the people of Yemen unless they initiate it." This was the first army to enter the land known as "the Land of Madhhij," in Najrān.[45]

In order to collect the welfare tax and booty, Ali sent his men to different places. He put Burayda Ibn al-Ḥuṣayb Aslamī[46] in charge of the booty, and then began inviting the people to accept Islam, but they refused and began to throw stones and shoot arrows at them. He then assembled the army, gave the banner to Masūd Ibn Sanān Sullami and attacked them. Twenty of the enemy were killed and the rest escaped. Ali did not pursue them, but later invited them to Islam again, and they eagerly accepted. The tribe of Hamdān turned to Islam without a fight as soon as Ali read the letter he had from the Prophet. He wrote to the Prophet about the outcome regarding the tribe of Hamdān, and the Prophet prostrated three times in thanksgiving, and said three times:

السلام على همدان

("Peace be upon Hamdān"). After that, people began embracing Islam one after another.[47]

Ali divided the booty and the welfare tax into five. First he put one-fifth aside as welfare tax to send to the Prophet. He then divided the other four shares among the army.

In the *Irshād* of Shaykh Mufīd and *ʿIlal al-Sharāyiʿ* of Ṣadūq, it states that the Prophet sent a letter to Ali in Yemen for him to go to Mecca for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, but the Prophet did not stipulate what he should wear.[48] Ali set out for Mecca with his army and the booty from Yemen, and put on the pilgrimage garb on the way.[49]

The Prophet left Medina for Mecca on Saturday, the 25th of Dhu al-Qaʿda, after the midday prayer, because, according to numerous hadiths, it was five days before the month of Dhu al-Qaʿda ended, as it is mentioned, *Li Khamsin Baqina min Dhu al-Qaʿda*.[50] Also, it is clear that the beginning of Dhu al-Qaʿda was on a Thursday, because it is related that the Day of ʿArafa, when the Prophet gave the sermon at ʿArafa, was a Friday[51] (and Saturday is five days before Thursday, which was the first day of Dhu al-Qaʿda).

Nonetheless, the month of Dhu al-Ḥajja would not have been thirty days, because the Saturday would then have been the twenty-sixth, but history records it as the twenty-fifth. And we cannot say that the Prophet left Medina on that Friday, because, according to the chains left from Anas Ibn Mālik, he did his noon prayer in Medina in the normal way. As the Friday noon prayer is made along with two sermons, it could not have been four *rakʿats*. In addition, the departure of the Prophet cannot be assumed to have been on that Thursday, because there were six more nights of the month of Dhu al-Qaʿda, not five, whereas after that Saturday only five days remained.

The Prophet had made the ritual ablution, combed his hair and scented it with oil, and put on two of his garments, and after the noon prayer he left for Dhu al-Hulayfa, a few miles away from Medina, where he did two units (*rakʿat*) instead of four for his evening prayer. He had already appointed Abū Dujāna Simāk Ibn Harsha Sāʿīdī or Sibāʿ Ibn ʿUrfotah Ghifārī to take his place in Medina.[52]

Fāṭimah al-Zahrā and the wives of the Prophet put on the pilgrim's garb at Dhu al-Hulayfa, and began chanting "Here I am, O God." And as their *ḥajj* was considered the Separation *Ḥajj* (*Ḥajj al-Ifrād*), they did not take any sacrificial animals, and their ritual task was saying "Here I am, O God." Then they sat in the cabins on their camels and moved forward. All the nine wives of the Prophet were on that journey. The Prophet also had with him between sixty-three

and sixty-six camels for sacrifice, which together with about thrity that Ali brought amounted to nearly a hundred. From the camels that the Prophet took with him, one was slaughtered by himself to train the companions. He then ordered his companions to do the same. For this special ritual done by the Prophet, the *ḥajj* that was *Ḥajj al-Ish'ār*[53] and *al-Taqlid* became *Ḥajj al-Qirān*. Finally, he mounted his camel and set off. As the camel moved forward and they reached the desert, the Prophet and his companions began chanting:[54]

لبيك اللهم لبيك لبيك لا شريك لك لبيك ان الحمد والنعمة لك والملك لا شريك لك.[55]

"Here I am at Your service, O God, here I am. Here I am at Your service, You have no partner, here I am. Yours alone are all praise and all bounty, and Yours alone is the sovereignty. You have no partner."

At Dhu alHulayfa, Asmā',[56] the daughter of ʿOmays and the wife of Abū Bakr, gave birth to Muhammad Abī Bakr.[57] She sent a message to the Prophet to find out what her responsibilities were regarding the rites, and he told her to dress in her *ḥajj* clothing and chant "Here I am, O God," take a piece of cotton with her, fasten her belt, and then just chant the ritual chant.

Imam Ṣādiq has said that as Asmā' was giving birth, there was a blessing for any other women in the caravan who might be giving birth or menstruating, since they would be able to do what the Prophet had told Asmā' without violating their *ḥajj* rites.[58]

Asmā' entered Mecca in the same condition, and even though her bleeding had not stopped, the Prophet told her to make the circumambulations and her prayers, which she did accordingly.[59]

The Prophet stayed at Dhu al-Hulayfa that night for Asmā''s sake,[60] and left the following morning along with the others. It must have been a strange sight in the vast desert, when there were people walking or riding on camels as far as one could see. All the people surrounding the Prophet had made the ritual ablution and were in their pilgrimage garb, chanting "Here I am, O God!" Their hearts were consumed with love for the greatest of the Divine Names. With his divinely inspired attraction, the Prophet had incited the people to move, and they were walking forward barefoot on the rough ground towards the Holy House, all of them chanting: "Here I am at Your service, O God, here I am. Here I am at Your service, You have no partner. Here I am. Yours alone are all praise and all bounty, and Yours alone is the sovereignty. You have no partner."

Ibn Juzī Abul Faraj said that Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad quoted his father saying that he asked Jābir Ibn ʿAbdullah Anṣārī to describe the Prophet's *ḥajj*, and he said:

During the first nine years he was in Medina, the Prophet had not made a *ḥajj* pilgrimage, and then after this long period he announced that he was going to the *ḥajj*. Almost everyone went to Medina, all trying to follow the Prophet on the journey, and perform the rites accordingly.

We left Medina for Dhū al-Hulayfa with the Prophet. There he made two units of prayer in the mosque, and then mounted his camel. The camel moved forward, and in the desert I watched the animal disappear into the far distance. Then I noticed that there were huge crowds moving with the Prophet, on his right and on his left, and far behind him were still more people walking, both lingering and hurrying on. So the Prophet began chanting the Great Names of God beginning with:

لبيك، اللهم لبيك، لبيك لا شريك لك لبيك، ان الحمد و النعمة لك و الملك، لا شريك لك.

"Here I am at Your service, O God, here I am. Here I am at Your service, You have no partner, here I am. Yours alone are all praise and all bounty, and Yours alone is the sovereignty. You have no partner." It was then that I saw how that great number of people around him were like moths winging around a lighted candle. He himself was mounted on a red-haired camel with only a shabby worn-out rug on it. He had no more than a shabby piece of cloth with him, which I doubted was worth more than four dirhams.[61]

Ibn Kathīr Damashqī has reported through his chains that Abū Bakr Bazzāz quoted Anas as saying:

إن النبي صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم حج على رحل رث وتحته قطيفة وقال: حجة لا رياء فيها ولا سمعة.[62]

"The Prophet went on his *ḥajj* with no more than a worn-out cloth as a rug to rest on—just a piece of cloth to sit and pray on, and even to sleep on. And he would say: 'This is a journey with no ostentation.'"

And Hāfiḍ Abū Yaʿlī Muṣilī quotes Anas as saying:

حج رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم على رحل رث وقطيفة تساوي اولا تساوي اربعة دراهم فقال: اللهم حجة لا رياء فيها.[63]

"The Prophet made his *ḥajj* pilgrimage with only a worn-out rug with him, worth no more than four dirhams, and he said: 'O Lord! This is a holy journey with no ostentation in it.'"

We should consider his having made the *ḥajj* with no more than a worn-out rug an example for us. This was he who sacrificed a hundred camels to feed the needy for the sake of God. He even told Ali

not to keep the animal skins, for all should be shared among the poor for the sake of God.

It is written:

ولكم فى رسول الله اسوة حسنة لمن كان يرجوا الله واليوم الآخر وذكر الله كثيرا.

Indeed in the messenger of God you have a good example for whoever looks to God and the Last Day, and remembers God much (33:21).

The rich among us who go on the *ḥajj* do not sacrifice more than one sheep at Minā. So far I have not heard of any of them sacrificing a camel there, even if they spend a huge amount of money on the *ḥajj*, and their wealth is beyond imagination.

ʿĀyisha's Objections to the Prophet

It is related in the *Sirat al-Ḥalabīyya* that ʿĀyisha's camel was very fast and carried little luggage, but the camel of Safīyya, another of the Prophet's wives, was very slow and had a heavy load, and was always far behind the caravan. The Prophet decided that Safīyya's heavy luggage should be replaced with ʿĀyisha's light luggage. The story continues:

> When this was done, the Prophet went to ʿĀyisha to thank her, and said: "O mother of ʿAbdullah, your luggage was light and your camel fast, but Safīyya's luggage was too heavy and her camel was very slow and caused the caravan to move very slowly. This was why I replaced your luggage with hers, so that we can move faster."
>
> ʿĀyisha answered, "What! Do you think you are a prophet?"
>
> The Prophet said: "O Umm ʿAbdullah! Do you doubt that I am a prophet?"
>
> ʿĀyisha said: "So what has happened to you that you are not keeping to the side of justice?"

And ʿĀyisha relates:

> My father, Abū Bakr, was very stern, and he used to slap me on the face, but the Prophet would object to his harshness. Once, to his objection, Abū Bakr said: "Do you not hear what she says?" And the Prophet said:
>
> دعها فان المراة الغبراء لا يعرف اعلى الوادى من اسفله
>
> "Leave her alone. Because she is ostentatious, she does not discern the upper part of the desert from the lower."[64]

It is related that Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal, through his chains, has quoted Asmāʾ, the daughter of Abū Bakr, saying that when they dismounted from their camels in the land known as ʿArj, the camel that was carrying the Prophet's luggage was lost. Abū Bakr's luggage was also on the same camel. The camel driver was Abū Bakr's servant, and he asked the boy: "Where is the camel?" The servant answered: "I lost it the night before."

Abū Bakr was in a fit of anger, and gazing at the boy furiously, he said: "We had only one camel, and now you have lost it." He then began whipping the slave mercilessly. Just then the Prophet turned to the people around and said: "Come look. He wears the garb of the *ḥajj*, but acts the opposite!" Then the Prophet smiled, and said no more.[65]

When some of the companions got to know that the camel with the luggage was lost, they brought the Prophet some *ḥays* (a kind of food made with flour, oil, and dates), and put it in front of him. Then he turned to the irritated Abū Bakr and said: "O Abū Bakr, take things easier. Affairs are neither in my hands nor in yours. This servant was doing his best and was careful not to lose the animal. Now God has sent us this food in place of what was lost." Then the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and those who were gathering around began eating the food, and all ate as much as they desired.

At this time, Ṣafwān Ibn Muʾaṭṭal, whose job was to walk behind the caravan and look after the animals lingering behind, came to them with the lost camel and the luggage. The Prophet let the animal rest for a while, and turned to Abū Bakr, saying: "Now look and see if anything of yours has been lost."

Abū Bakr searched the luggage and said: "Nothing but a large bowl for drinking water is lost." But the servant said that it was not lost, and he had it with him to drink water on the way.

When news of the lost camel and luggage reached Saʿd Ibn Obda and his son Qays Ibn Saʿd, they brought the Prophet a whole meal, and said: "O Prophet, we heard that the camel bearing your luggage was lost, so you may have this in place of the food you lost." The Prophet said: "God has already sent us our provision, so take back your food, and may God bless you both."[66]

The Places That the Prophet Visited on His *Ḥajj* Pilgrimage

Miqrīzī said that it was Sunday when the Prophet reached Yalamlam,[67] and then left there and had dinner at Sharaf al-Sayyāla, where he performed the sunset and evening prayers.

He then moved on, performing the dawn prayer at ʿIrq al-Zubyā. From there he continued, passing Rawḥā and saying the afternoon prayer at Munṣaraf. He made the sunset and evening prayers at Mutaʿashshi, where he also dined. He said his dawn prayer at Athāya, and it was Tuesday morning when he reached ʿArj, which is near Juḥfa. They bridled[68] the camels before leaving, and arrived at Suqyā on Wednesday. Then, on Thursday morning, they were at Abwāʾ, where they did the prayers. They arrived at Juḥfa on Friday, and from there they left for Qudayd, arriving there on Saturday. They reached Osfān on Sunday, and from there they went to Ghamim, where those traveling on foot gathered around the Prophet and complained about having to walk. The Prophet allowed them to trot instead of walking, for it would be a bit of ease for them. They did so, and very soon they found it quite comfortable, and went on and reached Marru al-Zahrān on Monday. They did not leave there until after the sun had set in Siraf, and then carried on towards Mecca before praying. They reached Thanayyatayn (the two passes that join) and stayed there for the night, and entered Mecca on Tuesday.[69]

In the *Ṭabaqāt* it is said that the Prophet reached Marru al-Zahrān on Monday, and the sun set when he was at Siraf, where he stayed until the next morning, making the ritual ablution and then entering Mecca.[70] As it is evident that the first day of Dhu al-Ḥajja was a Thursday, the Prophet did in fact enter Mecca on Tuesday, the sixth of Dhu al-Ḥajja.

The Prophet had stopped earlier at Siraf, which was six miles from Mecca. While there, he told all the pilgrims to change their intention of making the *ḥajj* to that of the *ʿumra*, and make the appropriate ritual chanting on the way to Mecca, where they would perform the rites of the *ʿumra*. The exception was those others who, like the Prophet, had brought sacrificial animals with them, since they had to keep to their *ḥajj* intention until the sacrifice.

The Law about Menstruating (*ḥāʾiḍ*) Women

Fāṭimah Zahrā, nine of the Prophet's wives, and the believing women changed their intention from the *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra*, and began chant-

ing the *labbayk*. ᶜĀyisha had already done so. However, her menstruation started in Siraf, and she could neither enter the Holy Shrine, circumambulate it, nor pray, all of which are necessary for the *ᶜumra*. She relates:

> The Prophet came to me while I was crying, and he asked: "Why are you crying? Is it that you have the period of menstruation?" I answered: "Yes. By God, I did not want this to happen on this journey." He then said:
>
> > Do not speak thus. This is a command that God has enjoined for all the women of Adam. Whatever is enjoined for them is enjoined for you also. Now, chant the *labbayk*, leave for your *ᶜumra*, make your intention, and wear your pilgrim's garment, and then perform what a pilgrim does, but omit the circumambulations.[71] Then when your period has ended, make your circumambulations and finish your pilgrimage rites.
>
> I entered Mecca, but did not go into the Shrine as I was still having my period, so I stayed in ᶜArafāt. Then on the eve of ᶜArafāt I was cleansed, and I circumambulated the House of God, ran between Ṣafā and Marwa, and then finished my pilgrimage rites.[72]

This was how ᶜĀyisha completed the *ᶜumra* pilgrimage.

However, as soon as Fāṭimah Zahrā, the other wives of the Prophet, and the rest of the women entered Mecca, they made the *ḥajj* and then freed themselves of the ritual taboo. Then, on the eighth day of Dhu al-Ḥajja, the Day of Moistening, they wore the pilgrim's garb and began chanting *labbayk* on the way to ᶜArafāt. They performed the rites at Mashᶜar and Minā, circumambulated the Holy House, did the prayers, ran between Ṣafā and Marwa, and finished the *ḥajj* rites. They then freed themselves from the condition of ritual taboo. Therefore, on this pilgrimage they fulfilled the *ḥajj* and a complete *ᶜumra*.

When the Prophet had completed the prescribed days of the *ḥajj*, and three days had passed following the sacrifice, he returned towards Mecca. He stayed at Muḥaṣṣab[73] and made the noon, afternoon, sunset, and late evening prayers there. It was there that ᶜĀyisha asked the Prophet if she could make a *ḥajj* without a minor pilgrimage and then return to Medina.

The Prophet then called her brother, Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abū Bakr, and told him: "When your sister has finished her circumambulations wearing her pilgrimage garb, take her from the Shrine and bring her here to Muḥaṣṣab." Thus, God destined for her the minor pilgrimage. It is related elsewhere that she had made the intention at

Tanʕīm[74] prior to leaving the Shrine, and wore the pilgrimage garment from the earlier *ḥajj* that she had missed.[75] Then she performed the *ḥajj* rites at midnight and returned to Muḥaṣṣab.[76] She said: "When we were back, the Prophet asked me if we had finished the *ḥajj* rites and the circumambulations, and we were pleased to say that we had."[77]

After performing the ritual ablution on that Tuesday morning, the Prophet left Muḥaṣṣab for Mecca by way of Thaniyya al-Ulyā (a pass above the level of Mecca), which is called Kadāʿ, and entered Mecca at sunrise. Thaniyyah al-Kadāʿ or Ulyā still leads to Mecca, and is now called Jaḥūn.

He entered the Sacred Mosque through the Gate of Abd Manāf, the Gate of the Banī Shayba, which is now called the Bāb al-Salām. When he caught sight of the Kaʿba,[78] he raised his hands high, saying "God is Most Great," and then said:

اللهم انت السلام، ومنك السلام، فحينا ربنا بالسلام، اللهم زد هذا البيت تشريفا وتعظيما، ومهابة و
براً، وزد من شرفه وكرمه ممن حجه او اعتمره تشريفا وتكريما وتعظيما وبرا.[79]

O God! You are the Essence of Peace, the Name of Peace, and the Knower of Peace and Security. And Peace is gifted by You, the Holy, to the entire world. So, my Creator, grant us greetings and salvation through Your peaceful Name, and fill our souls with Your Peace and Serenity.

O Creator! Increase the greatness, nobility, magnitude, and benevolence of this House, and bestow its nobility, greatness, and generosity upon those who perform the *ḥajj* pilgrimage and the *ʿumra*.

There is a hadith recorded by Jābir Ibn ʿAbdullah that says that the sun had already risen when they entered Mecca. The Prophet came closer to the gate of the Sacred Mosque, let his camel kneel down, and then entered the Shrine. He first went to the Bāb al-Salām (the Black Stone), and with tears running from his eyes he touched it, and then began circumambulating the House. He finished the course and went to the Black Stone and began kissing and touching it, and then gently rested his hands on his face.[80]

There is another story from ʿIkrama saying that he saw the Prophet prostrating in front of the Black Stone.[81]

A hadith from Shāfiʕ says that the Prophet stood in front of the Black Stone and then touched it, and rested his lips upon it for a long time, kissing it. Whenever he kissed it he said:

بسم الله والله اكبر.

"In the Name of God, and God is Most Great."

The Prophet told Omar:

انك رجل قوى لا تزاحم على الحجر (اى الاسود) تؤذى الضعيف، ان وجدت خلوة فاستلمه والا فاس تقبله وهلل وكبر.[82]

"You are a strong man, so do not harm the people. Do not trouble them by hastening to the Black Stone. When you find it quiet and peaceful, then go closer and touch it. Otherwise, stand in front of it and keep chanting "God is Most Great!"

The Quality of the Prophet's Circumambulations and Effort

After circumambulating the Holy House, the Prophet performed two units of prayer behind the station of Abraham. In the first unit, he recited the chapter beginning

قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا الْكَافِرُونَ

Say: O you the disbelievers..., and in the second unit the chapter beginning

قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ

Say: He is God, the One. Then he went to the Well of Zamzam, where someone drew a bucket of water for him. He drank some of the water and put the rest back in the bucket, and emptied it back into the well, saying: "If people do not take the water by drawing it from the well in their palms, as is the custom and tradition, I will do so, and draw the water out of the well with my hands."

The Prophet then returned to the Black Stone and touched it before going towards Ṣafā and Marwa, reciting the verse:

إِنَّ الصَّفَا وَالْمَرْوَةَ مِن شَعَآئِرِ اللهِ فَمَنْ حَجَّ الْبَيْتَ أَوِ اعْتَمَرَ فَلاَ جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِ أَن يَطَّوَّفَ بِهِمَا وَمَن تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا فَإِنَّ اللهَ شَاكِرٌ عَلِيمٌ.

Indeed, Ṣafā and Marwa are symbols of God. There is therefore no blame upon him who is on pilgrimage to the House (of God) or visits it, to go around them. And he who does good of his own accord, to him God is Responsive, Aware (2:158).[83]

Then he said:

أبدأ بما بدأ الله

"I begin from Ṣafā, as God has commenced His Word [in the verse] from Ṣafā."[84] He climbed Ṣafā, from where the Holy House was visible, and turning his face towards it, he said three times:

الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر

"God is Most Great." He then said: "There is no god but God," and continued:

لا اله الا الله وحدہ لا شريك له، له الملك وله الحمد، يحيي ويميت، وهو على كل شيء قدير، لا اله الا الله وحدہ، انجز وعدہ، ونصر عبدہ، وهزم الاحزاب وحدہ.

Then he prayed and repeated his supplication twice more, making three times altogether.

He then came down from the mount and set out for Marwa, and began running up to the Masil, from where he began walking. All the way to Marwa he repeated the same prayer and supplication as he had on the Mount of Ṣafā.[85]

After that he ran back towards Ṣafā, and there he left the course near the lowest level of Masil. Next, he climbed the Mount of Ṣafā again, and while facing the Holy House, he said: "There is no god but God," making his supplication and praying as before. Again he came down to the course at Ṣafā and repeated this six more times in the same order, until on the seventh round he finished on the Marwa side.[86]

The Separation of the *Ḥajj* pilgrimage and the *ʿUmra* before the Farewell Pilgrimage

We should be aware that at the time, the *ḥajj* pilgrimage and the *ʿumra* were quite separate from one another. The *ḥajj* involved wearing the pilgrim's garb at a particular time and place, staying at ʿArafāt and Mashʿar, fulfilling rites at Minā, the circumambulation of the Holy House, and prayer and running between Ṣafā and Marwa, as God states:

الحج اشهر معلومات

The ḥajj is in the well-known months (2:197). Hence, the pilgrimage had to be taken during that specific time (the months of Shawwāl, Dhu al-Qaʿda and Dhu al-Ḥajja), and it was considered void if done at any other time.

The *ʿumra* involved wearing the pilgrim's garb at an appointed place, the circumambulation of the Holy House, praying, running between Ṣafā and Marwa, and then having the hair shaved. There was

no specified time for this pilgrimage, and it could happen during any month of the year, on any day, and at any time.

The *ḥajj* pilgrimage was enjoined by God and became incumbent upon the Muslims, as it is stated:

وَلِلَّهِ عَلَى النَّاسِ حِجُّ الْبَيْتِ مَنِ اسْتَطَاعَ إِلَيْهِ سَبِيلًا

...And pilgrimage to the House is a duty from God for mankind, for him who can find a way thither... (3:97).

It was to be in one of the months of Shawwāl and Dhu al-Qaʿda, up to the eighth of Dhu al-Ḥajja, and was assigned for whoever had the means to go to ʿArafāt wearing the pilgrimage garb, and on the ninth day make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage.

And likewise, for whoever had the means, the *ʿumra* would be incumbent upon him at the same time, so that he would put on the pilgrimage garb at the assigned starting point, and then enter Mecca and fulfil the rites.

The *ʿumra* was obviously easier than the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, because on the *ḥajj* the pilgrim's garb could not be removed before he finished the rites after the sacrifice at Minā. Then the hair would be shaved and circumambulations made of the Holy House. All this took time, and one had to remain in the state of ritual taboo for several days. It became known that those who wanted to make the *ḥajj* could wear the pilgrimage garb on the first day of Shawwāl, the day of Eid-i Fiṭr, and set out for Mecca. After entering Mecca, circumambulating the House, praying, and running between Ṣafā and Marwa, they had to remain in the pilgrimage garb until their heads were shaven. They had to keep away from women and avoid all unlawful things, and remain thus until they left ʿArafāt and Mashʿar and the day of sacrifice approached, when they would remove the pilgrimage garb. Then, after circumambulating the Holy House, they would be freed. Sometimes the course lasted for seventy days, and this could be very difficult, especially in the extreme heat of that territory.

The rules for the *ḥajj* are quite strict, and fulfilling these rites can be very hard. Being under the restrictions of the *ḥajj* for seventy days would increase the men's natural desire for women, especially for young people in such a hot land. Some who were on the *ḥajj* with their own wives, even under these restrictions, would become intimate with them and invalidate their pilgrimage, and then have to atone for it. Even those who were unmarried might transgress in this way. Their *ḥajj* would then become satanic and damage their spiritual state.

There is a secret known only by God and His Prophet whereby God told the Prophet to join the *ʿumra* with the *ḥajj* for those who lived far from Mecca. Thus, those who wear the pilgrimage garb at the appointed place and time need not follow the protocol for the *ḥajj*, but can make the *ʿumra*, and then go to Mecca to finish the rites after a few hours. They remain free for a certain time until the eighth of Dhi al-Ḥajja, which is the day they should go to Minā and ʿArafāt. In such a case, they wear the pilgrimage garb in Mecca, and while chanting "There is no god but God," they set out for ʿArafāt, Mashʿar, and Minā, where they quickly carry out the *ḥajj* rites with no difficulty. The maximum time needed to fulfil the *ʿumra* rites is the time it takes to travel the short distance to Minā and ʿArafāt. The time for the *ḥajj* is also from the ninth to the twelfth, when the *ḥajj* rites finish. This is quite a short time, and is known as "the Enjoyment *Ḥajj*," so called because one is not under the restrictions in the time between the *ʿumra* and the *ḥajj*, and a man can enjoy being with his wife and is released from the other restrictions that apply while wearing the pilgrimage garb. This is different from the personal *ḥajj*, when one is under the restrictions from the appointed place and time until the *ḥajj* is finished.

The pilgrimage made by those who have no sacrificial animal is called the personal *ḥajj*; otherwise it is called the *qirān ḥajj*. And if one goes on an *ʿumra* without completing the *ḥajj* afterwards, this is known as the personal *ʿumra*.

However, the Prophet set out with the intention of making the *ḥajj*, as did all the others with him. Before starting the journey, messages were sent far and wide announcing that the Prophet was to make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. The Prophet ordered that a letter be written to Ali, who had been sent to Yemen on a mission, to tell him of the forthcoming pilgrimage. He did not, however, mention anything about the *ʿumra*, for no one anticipated doing it. All the people were dressed in the pilgrimage garb, chanting "God is Most Great," and they left Medina for Mecca.[87]

As already mentioned, at the station of Siraf, six kilometers from Mecca, the Prophet told those who had brought animals with them to sacrifice to keep their intention and pray, chanting "There is no god but God," but whoever had not brought such an animal was to change his intention from the *ḥajj* to that of the minor pilgrimage, and thus proceed.

The Prophet had camels with him to sacrifice and maintained his intention to make the *ḥajj*, going on his way reciting "There is no god but God" until he reached Mecca. There he stopped his recitations,

because he had reached God's House and achieved what he wanted.[88] After he had fulfilled the running between Ṣafā and Marwa, and was standing on the Mount of Marwa, he said:

> O Muslims, Gabriel has now descended,[89] and by God's Will he said that whoever has not brought a sacrifice with him should become free from the restrictions of the *ḥajj*. This means that whoever did not hear my command at Siraf, and has not brought an animal for sacrifice, and has the intention for the *ʿumra*, the minor pilgrimage, should make the circumambulations, do the running according to the *ʿumra*, and then have his head shaved and be free from the *ḥajj* restrictions. However, those who have brought animals for sacrifice should remain in the state of restriction until they have taken their animals to Minā for sacrifice.[90]

In a hadith of Fuḍayl Ibn ʿAyāz from Imam Ṣādiq, it is related that when the Prophet had finished the circumambulations and was at Marwa, Gabriel came down and instructed him to regard his pilgrimage as the *ʿumra* unless he had brought with him an animal to sacrifice, because he would not be bound to remain in the state of *muḥrim*, as God has said:

حتّى يبلغ الهدى محلّه.

The Arabs of the Age of Ignorance did not like to perform the *ʿumra* together with the *ḥajj*, and this is why it seemed unpleasant to some of the companions to change their *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra*. The main reason was that they never made the *ʿumra* in the *ḥajj* season. Fuḍayl asked if Islam had kept any of the customs of the Age of Ignorance, and the Imam told him that the people of the Age of Ignorance had totally abandoned all the traditions of the Prophet Abraham other than circumcision, lawful marriage, and the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, which had remained unspoiled.

The Objection of Some of the Companions to the Enjoyment *Ḥajj*

The *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya* mentions that Suhayli said that none of the companions had brought sacrificial animals with them, except Ṭalḥa Ibn ʿAbdullah and Ali, who had come from Yemen, and that the Prophet told those without sacrificial animals to carry out what was needed for the minor pilgrimage and then become free from the state of restriction.[91] That meant that after having their heads shaved, what was unlawful for them (in the state of restriction) would become lawful, such as intimacy with their wives, using perfume, and wearing sewn garments.

They were to remain so until the day of Tarwiya, the eighth day, when they were again to wear the pilgrimage garb and leave Mecca chanting the *talbīya*, "There is no god but God."

Some of the companions objected, and said:

تَنطلقُ إلَى مِنَى وَذَكَرُ أَحَدِنَا يَقْطُر؟.

Adding:

وَفَرجُهُ يَقْطُرُ مَنِيّاً؟ اىَ قَدْ جَامَعَ النّسَاء.[92]

"How can we go to Minā now that we have been freed from the restrictions of the *ḥajj*, while we have been with the women?"

ᶜĀyisha said:

I saw that the Prophet was angry, and I asked him: "Who has made you so angry? May God burn him in hellfire!" and he said:

أَوَمَا شَعَرْتِ أَنِّى أَمَرْتُ النَّاسَ بِأَمرٍ فَإِذَا هُم يَتَرَدَّدُون.[93]

"Have you not understood that I commanded the people to do something, but they doubted it?'"

When the companions' remark reached him, he stood up and, after offering praise to God, he said:

فَحَمِدَ اللهَ تَعَالَى فَقَالَ: أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَتَعَلَّمُونَ أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ؟ لأَنَا وَاللهِ أَعْلَمُكُم بِاللهِ وَأَتْقَاكُمْ لَهُ، وَلَو اسْتَقْبَلْتُ مِن أَمْرِى مَا اسْتَدْبَرْتُ مَا سُقْتُ هَدْياً وَلأَحْلَلْتُ.[94]

وَفِى رِوَايَةٍ قَالُوا: كَيْفَ نَجْعَلُهَا عُمْرَةً وَقَدْ سَمَّيْنَا الْحَجَّ؟

فَقَالَ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِه) وَسَلَّم: اقْبَلُوا مَا أَمَرْتُكُمْ بِهِ، وَاجْعَلُوا إِهْلالَكُمْ بِالْحَجِّ عُمْرَةً، فَلَوْلا أَنِّى سُقْتُ الْهَدْىَ لَفَعَلْتُ مِثْلَ الَّذِى أَمَرْتُكُمْ بِهِ فَفَعَلُوا وَأَهَلُّوا، فَصَيَّرَ الْحَجَّ إِلَى الْعُمْرَةِ.[95]

"O people! Are you telling God and His Messenger what to do? By God, I am closer to God than you are, and my piety towards Him is the most. If I already knew the event, I would not have brought with me here an animal to sacrifice, and then I would be free from the *ḥajj* restrictions as you are."

It is related in another hadith that he said: "How did we come to call this pilgrimage the *ᶜumra* when we have made the intention for the *ḥajj*?"

The Prophet said: "Accept whatever I am telling you, so change your intention and *talbīya* from the *ḥajj* to that of the *ᶜumra*. If I myself had not brought with me an animal for sacrifice, I would be doing

what I am telling you to do." Thus they accepted it, and made the intention for the minor pilgrimage, and since then the *ḥajj* pilgrimage has been combined with the *ʿumra*."

سُرَاقَةُ بْنُ مَالِكِ بْنِ جُعْشُمٍ كِنَانِيٌّ از آن حضرت پرسید که: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! مُتْعَتُنَا هَذِهِ لِعَامِنَا هَذَا أَمْ لِلأَبَدِ؟[96]

فَشَبَّكَ (ص) أَصَابِعَهُ، فَقَالَ: بَلْ لِلأَبَدِ الأَبَدِ دَخَلَتِ الْعُمْرَةُ فِي الْحَجِّ هَكَذَا إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ وَفِي رِوَايَةٍ:

فَشَبَّكَ بَيْنَ أَصَابِعِهِ وَاحِدَةً فِي أُخْرَى وَقَالَ: دَخَلَتِ الْعُمْرَةُ فِي الْحَجِّ هَكَذَا ـ مَرَّتَيْنِ ـ بَلْ لأَبَدِ الأَبَدِ[97]

Surāfa Ibn Mālik Ibn Jushʿam Kinānī asked the Prophet:

"O Messenger of God, the enjoyment *ḥajj* that we made this year, in which you gave us the opportunity to partake, combining the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*, is it always to be so, or is it only for this year?" The Prophet pressed two fingers together to emphasize his words, and said: "It is until the Day of Resurrection. Just as I have joined these two fingers, the minor pilgrimage and the *ḥajj* are joined together."

In another hadith it states that the Prophet joined two fingers of one hand together and said: "Like these two fingers, the minor pilgrimage and the *ḥajj* are together."

The following is narrated in *Iʿlām al-Warā*:

قَامَ إِلَيْهِ رَجُلٌ مِنْ بَنِي عَدِيٍّ، وَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! أَنَخْرُجُ إِلَى مِنًى وَرُؤُوسُنَا تَقْطُرُ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ؟! فَقَالَ:

إِنَّكَ لَنْ تُؤْمِنَ بِهَا حَتَّى تَمُوتَ[98].

"A man from the tribe of Addi stood up in front of the Prophet and asked: 'O Messenger of God, can we go to the land of Minā after relations with our wives, while the water of our ritual ablution runs down our faces?' The Prophet replied: 'Will you not believe before you die that this is the case?'"

Mufid relates in the *Irshād* when the Prophet stated: "Whoever has not brought an animal for sacrifice, let him change his intention for the *ḥajj* to that of the *ʿumra*, and become free from the *ḥajj* restrictions, while whoever has brought an animal with him must keep his intention," some of his companions agreed, while others did not, and there was much dispute among them. Some of them were asking:

رَسُولُ اللهِ أَشْعَثُ أَغْبَرُ نَلْبَسُ الثِّيَابَ وَنَقْرَبُ النِّسَاءَ وَنُدَهِّنُ؟

"Now that the Prophet is in such a condition, with disheveled hair and a dusty garment, can we now change our pilgrimage garb for our usual garments, oil our hair, and come close to our wives for enjoyment?" But others said:

أَمَا تَسْتَحْيُونَ؟ تَخْرُجُونَ وَرُؤُوسُكُمْ تَقْطُرُ مِنَ الْغُسْلِ وَرَسُولُ اللهِ عَلَى إِحْرَامِهِ؟!

"Do you not feel ashamed of your conduct, by appearing in front of the people with the water of the ritual ablution running down your faces, while the Prophet has not yet completed his *ḥajj*?"

فَأَنْكَرَ رَسُولُ اللهِ (ص) عَلَى مَنْ خَالَفَ فِي ذَلِكَ، وَقَالَ: لَوْلَا أَنِّي سُقْتُ الْهَدْيَ لَأَحْلَلْتُ وَجَعَلْتُهَا عُمْرَةً، فَمَنْ لَمْ يَسُقْ هَدْيًا فَلْيَحِلَّ. فَرَجَعَ قَوْمٌ وَأَقَامَ آخَرُونَ عَلَى الْخِلَافِ، وَكَانَ فِيمَنْ أَقَامَ عَلَى الْخِلَافِ لِلنَّبِيِّ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ. فَاسْتَدْعَاهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ وَقَالَ لَهُ: مَالِي أَرَاكَ يَا عُمَرُ مُحْرِمًا؟ أَلَسْتَ هَدْيًا؟ قَالَ: لَمْ أَسُقْ. قَالَ: فَلِمَ لَا تَحِلُّ وَقَدْ أَمَرْتُ مَنْ لَمْ يَسُقْ بِالْإِحْلَالِ؟ فَقَالَ: وَاللهِ، يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، لَا أَحْلَلْتَ وَأَنْتَ مُحْرِمٌ، فَقَالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ: إِنَّكَ لَمْ تُؤْمَنْ بِهَا حَتَّى تَمُوتَ. فَلِذَلِكَ أَقَامَ عَلَى إِنْكَارِ مُتْعَةِ الْحَجِّ حَتَّى رَقَا الْمِنْبَرَ فِي إِمَارَتِهِ فَنَهَى عَنْهَا نَهْيًا مُجَدَّدًا وَتَوَعَّدَ عَلَيْهَا بِالْعِقَابِ؟[99]

The Prophet saw this as unfair, and said: "If I had not myself brought with me an animal for sacrifice, I would make my *ḥajj* as the minor pilgrimage, and then take off my pilgrimage garb. So he who has not brought with him an animal for sacrifice should free himself from the restrictions of the *ḥajj*."

Some of the people took this advice and did what he commanded, but some others turned a blind eye. Among those who objected was Omar al-Khaṭṭāb. So the Prophet called to him to speak with him in private, telling him: "O Omar! Why are you still in the state of restriction? Have you then brought with you an animal for sacrifice?" Omar replied: "No, I have not brought one." The Prophet said: "So why are you not free from the restrictions? I told everyone who had not brought sacrificial animals with them to remove the pilgrimage garb." Omar said: "O Messenger of God, for as long as you are in the state required for the *ḥajj*, I will not remove my pilgrimage garb." The Prophet then said: "Will you not accept this before you die?"

He remained with this false idea until the time of his guardianship, when he climbed the pulpit in the mosque and openly announced it to the gathering. He threatened lashes for anyone who chose to wear the pilgrimage garb at the appointed time and place in order to make the minor pilgrimage together with the *ḥajj*.

Lessons Seventy-Nine to Eighty-Two

Commentary on the Verse

فَإِذَا أَمِنتُمْ فَمَن تَمَتَّعَ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ

LESSONS SEVENTY-NINE TO EIGHTY-TWO

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may God's curse be upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection. And there is no power or strength except for the Most High and Glorious God.

God, the Wise, has stated in His Noble Book:

فَإِذَا أَمِنتُمْ فَمَن تَمَتَّعَ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ فَمَا اسْتَيْسَرَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ فَمَن لَّمْ يَجِدْ فَصِيَامُ ثَلَاثَةِ أَيَّامٍ فِي الْحَجِّ وَسَبْعَةٍ إِذَا رَجَعْتُمْ تِلْكَ عَشَرَةٌ كَامِلَةٌ ذَٰلِكَ لِمَن لَّمْ يَكُنْ أَهْلُهُ حَاضِرِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ

...And if you are secure, then anyone who wishes to continue the umra on to the ḥajj, he must make an offering as can be had with ease. And whosoever cannot find (such gifts), then a fast of three days while on the pilgrimage, and of seven days when you have returned, making ten in all. This is him whose household is not in the precincts of the Sacred Mosque. And fear God, and know that God is severe in punishment (2:197).

This verse is a clear proof that those whose houses, families, and close relatives are not within the territory of Mecca have to fulfil their *ḥajj* as the enjoyment *ḥajj*, and if they have sacrificial animals with them, they are to take them to the place of sacrifice at Minā and sacrifice them there. However, those who live near Mecca are considered residents, so they have to make the pilgrimage as *ḥajj al-qirān* and *ḥajj al-ifrād*, not as the enjoyment *ḥajj*.

The Ruling on Enjoyment during the *Ḥajj* Pilgrimage Based on Inspiration

We are already familiar with the descent of Gabriel at God's command with the foregoing verse, which the Prophet announced at Siraf, and also that after finishing the running between Ṣafā and Marwa, all those who had journeyed with the Prophet—either from nearby, Medina, or further afield—were to change their intentions from the enjoyment *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra*, and then, after having their heads shaved, to free themselves from the pilgrimage restrictions. They could then do as they pleased until the day of Tarwīya, which is the day for the *ḥajj* and the journey to ʿArafāt, Mashʿar, and Minā.

This was the command for those who had not brought sacrificial animals.

The Prophet himself, along with all those who did have sacrificial animals, kept to the original intention until they had sacrificed the animals at Minā. The announcement of this command caused differences among some of the people, who wanted to remain in the pilgrimage garb until going to Mashʿar and Minā.

Ibn Kathīr relates from Bukhārī and Muslim two hadiths in which Jābir said that some of the companions kept saying: "There are no more than a few more days of the *ḥajj* rites, so why should we change from our pilgrimage garb?"

Bukhārī says that there are some hadiths from Abū Nuʿmān, from Hammād Ibn Zayd from Abd al-Mālik Ibn Jarīḥ from ʿAṭāʾ from Jābir, and from Ṭāwūs stating that Jābir and Ibn Abbās said:

قالا: قدم النبي صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم واصحابه صبح رابعة من ذي الحجة يهلون بالحج لا يخلطه شيء، فلما قدمنا امرنا فجعلناها عمرة، وان نحل الى نسائنا، فشت تلك المقالة.[100]

"On the Wednesday of Dhu al-Ḥajja, the Prophet and his companions entered Mecca, chanting 'There is no god but God.' And after we had entered Mecca, the Prophet ordered us to reassign our restricted intention to the *ʿumra*, and to go to our wives while we were free. This was widely known, but some of the companions objected."

Muslim has narrated through Qutayba and Laith from Ibn Zubayr from Jābir:

وامرنا رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم ان يحل منا من لم يكن معه هدى، قال: قلنا: حل ماذا؟ قال: الحل كله. فواقعنا النساء وتطيبنا بالطيب ولبسنا ثيابا ولبس بيننا وبين عرفة الا اربع ليال.[101]

Then the Prophet told us that any of us who had not brought a sacrificial animal should abandon his restriction. We asked him: "Which parts of the *ḥajj* do you mean?" and he answered: "All parts of the *ḥajj*, without exception." Therefore, we put on perfume and our usual clothes, which were clean, and went to our wives, though the distance to ʿArafāt was more than four kilometers.

These two hadiths clearly explain how the Prophet entered Mecca on the fourth day, and as the Day of ʿArafāt is on a Thursday, his arrival would have been on that Sunday. This is therefore different from what was quoted in the *Imtāʿ* of Miqrīzī from the book *al-Ghadīr*, where his arrival is said to have been on that Tuesday.

Nevertheless, the objections by some of the companions who wanted to remain in the state of restriction like the Prophet, with tousled hair and features covered with dust, made him quite angry, and his face showed signs of displeasure. This was because, after twenty-three years of hardship and toil for the well-being of the Muslims, he did not want some unauthorized companions to interfere with the religious affairs of the people, for the *ḥajj* rites were not personal matters. It was not something that could be changed according to personal interest. It is completely wrong for anyone who has no direct connection to the Divine Source to change religious legislation, or, above all, to act contrary to verses of the Qur'an and the clear statements of the Prophet, whose lengthy sermons and clear explanations were often repeated. He made it quite apparent that he had not changed his *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra* only because he had a sacrifice with him, and that he would otherwise have done so because of the priority of the enjoyment *ḥajj*.

Not having stayed at any house in Mecca, the Prophet left for Abṭaḥ after completing the running, and he stopped in a sandy and barren land to the east of Mecca, where he remained for the intervening days—Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday—before setting out for ʿArafāt. During this period he did not return to Mecca and the Sacred House of the Kaʿba.[102] Then, on Thursday morning, the eighth of Dhi al-Ḥajja—the day of Tarwīya—he made the morning prayer with his companions.

Imam Ali's Participation in the *Ḥajj* Pilgrimage with the Prophet

In lessons 76–78, we explained how Ali was not in Medina when the Prophet set out for Mecca. The Prophet had already sent him to Yemen in order to spread Islam, remove Khālid Ibn Walid from his position, and take control of the welfare tax at his disposal. Ali had left Medina with 300 men for Ṣawb of Yemen. Then, after his successful mission, the Prophet sent a message to tell him of his wish to make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. So Ali also set out for Mecca to make the *ḥajj* as soon as he heard the news.[103]

Together with those who had joined him in Yemen, Ali took the spoils of war and taxes and set out for Mecca. When he arrived with his army, Ali put on his pilgrimage garb and entered Mecca. However, he was very surprised when he saw Fāṭimah wearing her normal colorful clothes and perfume, and asked her why. She explained that her father had told them to do so. Ali went to the Prophet and

told him that Fāṭimah was no longer under the restrictions of the *ḥajj*, and the Prophet said: "What Fāṭimah says is correct."[104]

Then the Prophet told Ali of how Gabriel had descended, and the change of the *ḥajj* rites for those who had not brought sacrificial animals with them, and how the personal *ḥajj* was to be changed to the *ʿumra* and the enjoyment *ḥajj*. He then asked:

بم اهللت حين اوجبت الحج ؟

"Were you under the restrictions of the *ḥajj* when you said the *talbīya*?" and Ali answered:[105] "I did the same as the Prophet did. I said the *talbīya* and wore the pilgrimage garb."

The Prophet then asked: "Have you brought animals with you to sacrifice?" and Ali answered: "No.

So the Prophet said: "I will share my animals with you, so maintain your *ḥajj* restrictions and the intention you have already made." This he did, and the Prophet finished the *ḥajj* rites after sacrificing the animals for both of them.[106]

We should be aware that Ali had not taken animals with him to sacrifice, but he had, however, made the intention to do the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. He did as the Prophet had done, and likewise wore his pilgrimage garb, and accompanied the Prophet in the *ḥajj* and the sacrifice.

However, some historians have recorded that Ali had a camel with him to sacrifice, but it was part of the booty that belonged to the Prophet and not Ali's own animal. And it states in *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat* that the sacrificial animal that Ali had with him was one that the Prophet had bought on the way, in addition to those he had brought with him, making 100 altogether.[107]

So the Prophet had 100 camels with him, as most of the hadiths say. Therefore, a lofty status is accorded to Ali by being a partner with the Prophet in sacrificing all the camels and accompanying him on the *ḥajj*.

Among the various hadiths, there are some that say that the Prophet took 100 camels,[108] others say that he took 63 and Ali had 37,[109] or that the Prophet had 64 and Ali had 36,[110] or that the Prophet had 66 and Ali 34,[111] making a total of 100. Nonetheless, all the camels with Ali were the property of the Prophet. It is surprising that almost all the commentators believe that the number of animals was 100.

Ibn Juzī records the following:

فان معی الهدی فلا تحل. وکان الذی قدم به علی من الیمن والذی اتی به رسول الله مائة.[112]

"And of those camels, the Prophet himself sacrificed sixty, plus a few more, at Minā, and Ali sacrificed the remaining thirty or so.[113] Hence, some observers believed that the sacrifice was specifically that of Ali."

However, this is an incorrect assessment, because it is the owner to whom the sacrifice relates, and, in any case, if the camels belonged to Ali, why did he accompany the Prophet in the sacrifice? Now, Ali had brought the animals with him, and his *ḥajj* is considered to have been *qirān*, because according to the statement

حتى يبلغ الهدى محله

he would have had no right to sacrifice them and would not have been freed from the restrictions like those who had brought sacrificial animals. But the interesting fact is that Ali accompanied the Prophet in the sacrifice, because he wore the pilgrimage garb as the Prophet did, and said:

اللهم انى اهل بما اهل به نبيك وعبدك ورسولك محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم.[114]

Therefore, although Ali had no sacrificial animals of his own, he remained a *ḥajj* pilgrim by becoming the partner of the Prophet. Perhaps this was due to the following prayer and supplication of the Prophet concerning Ali:

واشركه فى امرى[115]

which is similar to Moses's request concerning his brother Aaron:

واشركه فى امرى

("Make him as a partner in my affairs"). Of course, one of the privileges of this is the spiritual benefit of taking part in the *ḥajj* and the sacrifice with the Prophet himself.

Abū Mūsā Ashᶜarī's Non-Participation in the Sacrifice with the Prophet

Abū Mūsā Ashᶜarī also came from Yemen in his pilgrimage garb, and the Prophet asked him:

بم اهللت

"How is it that you wear the pilgrimage garb?" and he answered:

اهللت كاهلال النبى

"I wear it as the Messenger does." He then asked him: "Have you a sacrificial animal with you?" and he answered: "No." The Prophet then told him to circumambulate first, then run between Ṣafā and

Marwa, and then have his hair cut and become free from the restrictions.[116]

So why did the Prophet not make him a partner of his also, but tell him instead to free himself from the restrictions? Was it not because that privilege is specifically for the most strong in belief, and the core of certainty that constitutes the guardianship

,وانی لهم ذلك ؟

Nevertheless, the Prophet told Ali to go to his army and bring them together there in Mecca. Ali set out towards his army, and he found them close to Mecca, sharing out the Yemeni garments and wearing them.

Their taking possession of what rightfully belonged to the Muslims was too much for Ali, and he reprimanded them, demanding of their chief, whom he had assigned before going to the Prophet: "Why have you distributed the clothing that belongs to the Prophet among the army without my permission?"

To this the chief answered: "That is what the men asked me to do. They wanted to put on the garments and trinkets as their pilgrimage clothing, and then return them to me."

Ali commanded them to take off the garments and put them back where they belonged, and to close up the cases and bundles. This was an excuse for them to retaliate, and when they entered Mecca they openly complained.[117]

فامر رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم مناديا فنادى فى الناس: ارضوا السنتكم عن على بن أبى طالب فانه خشن فى ذات الله عز و جل غير مداهن فى دينه فكف القوم عن ذكره و علموا مكانه من النبى صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم وسخطه على من رام الغميزة فيه.[118]

In Mecca the Prophet instructed a herald to announce to the people that they should stop finding fault with Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, that he is the strongest and firmest man in the eyes of God, and that he is not weak in his religion, nor does he act idly.

After that the people stopped protesting about Ali and understood his position in the eyes of the Prophet. They understood how the Prophet was annoyed with those who held a grudge against Ali and gossiped in his absence.

The trustee of Islam, Faḍl Ibn Ṭabarsī, similarly relates the same thing:

ارضوا السنتكم من شكاية على فانه خشن فى ذات الله.[119]

"Stop your tongues complaining about Ali, for indeed he is strict in God's law."

The Words of the Prophet Concerning the Enthusiasm of Imam Ali for the Religion

Ibn Hishām narrates the following:

قام رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم فينا خطيبا، فسمعته يقول: ايها الناس لا تشكوا عليا، فوالله انه لأخشن في ذات الله او في سبيل الله من ان يشكى.[120]

"Then the Prophet stood up to address us, and I heard him say: 'O people! Do not complain of Ali. By God, he is indeed too strong and stable in God's law and on His path.'"

Ibn Athīr similarly relates:

فوالله انه لأخشن في ذات الله او في سبيل الله.[121]

And Ṭabarī quotes Khudrī as saying:

قام رسول الله فينا خطيبا، فسمعته يقول: يا ايها الناس لا تشكوا عليا، فوالله انه لأخشى في ذات الله او في سبيل الله من ان يشكى.[122]

"Then the Prophet stood up to address us, and I heard him say: 'O people! Do not complain of Ali. By God, he is indeed too strong and stable in the presence of God and on His path to be complained about.'"

Hāfiḍ Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī has quoted Abū Saʿīd Khudrī as saying that when the people complained about Ali, the Prophet stood up to address them, saying:

يا ايها الناس لا تشكوا عليا فوالله انه لأخيشن في ذات الله عز وجل.[123]

"O people! Stop complaining of Ali. By God, he is the strongest and firmest in the presence of God and is self-possessed."

In another document, Isḥāq Ibn Kaʿb Ibn Ojra quotes his father as saying:

رسول خدا صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم فرمود: لا تسبوا عليا فانه ممسوس في ذات الله تعالى.

"The Prophet said: 'Do not curse Ali, for he has been annihilated in the Essence of God.'"

Complaints against Imam Ali in the Presence of the Prophet Concerning the Donation of Camels

Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī says that when the Prophet made a compromise with the Christians in Najrān to get 2000 trinkets from al-Awāqī trove, and sent Ali to Yemen to fetch them, Gabriel descended and

told the Prophet to make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. And so, as the Prophet was leaving Medina, he wrote [dictated] a letter to Ali to tell him that he was leaving Medina for the *ḥajj*. He added that when Ali had fulfilled his mission, he was to leave Yemen for Mecca and meet him there.

Ali read the letter, and after receiving the trinkets and forty-four camels, went to Mecca. He arrived before his caravan and went straight to the Prophet to greet him. Upon returning to the caravan, he saw the men were wearing the jewelry, and he commanded them to take it off and put it back, and to wrap up the cases and bundles. Then they questioned this order and began finding fault with him. But the Prophet said that Ali had done the right thing.

Nonetheless, they continued broadcasting their ill intentions among the people, until the Prophet went to the mosque, climbed the pulpit, and delivered the following speech:

اِرفعوا السِنتکم عن علی فانه خشن فی ذاتِ اللهِ غیر مداهن فی دینهِ

"Control those tongues of yours that find fault with Ali, for he is linked firmly with the Essence of God, and is never lazy in matters of the religion."[124]

Bayhaqī has explained the complaint against Ali somewhat differently. He relates through his chains from Saʿd Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Kaʿb Ibn ʿAjra, quoting his cousin Zaynab, the daughter of Kaʿb Ibn ʿAjra, who reported that when the Prophet sent Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib to Yemen, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī said:

> I was also among those who were accompanying Ali. When he wanted to take the taxes and donations from the people with him, we asked him to give us camels to ride, so that our camels could rest, because they were quite tired and weak. He avoided giving the donated camels to us, and said: "As with the other Muslims, you have only a share in these camels, but no more."
>
> When Ali had finished his tasks, we left Yemen for Mecca. There he assigned a man to guard us, and hastily went to fulfil his *ḥajj* rites. Then, when his rites were over, the Prophet told him: "Return to your army and join them."
>
> Ali had denied our request, but in his absence, the guard allowed the men to go ahead. When Ali returned and found that the men had taken the donated camels, and it was obvious that they had ridden them, he called the guard to him and reproached him for his disobedience.

I immediately thought, "By God, when I return to Medina, I will tell the Messenger of God of this, and let him know of this harsh treatment of us."

When I entered Medina in the early morning, I went to the Prophet, having in mind to fulfil what I had sworn to do. But when I was approaching the house, I saw Abū Bakr leaving, and when we met, he stopped and we exchanged formalities. I asked him things, and he, too, asked me certain things and when I had arrived. I told him that I had arrived the previous night. Then he returned with me to the Prophet and introduced me, saying: "This is Sa'd Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Shahīd." The Prophet told him to bring me closer. I came closer and greeted him. He greeted me also, and then asked about my situation and that of my family. He continued questioning me in a friendly way, much to my delight.

I said: "O Messenger of God, I wish that you knew how much hardship we have gone through with Ali."

The Prophet was listening to me attentively as I recounted one thing after another that Ali had done to the army. I was still in the middle of my complaint when the Prophet stroked me on the thigh and said: "O Sa'd Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Shahīd, stop saying such things about your brother Ali."

فوالله لقد علمت انه احسن فی سبیل الله

("By God, I know that he behaves fairly on the path of God").

I stopped short, and said to myself: "O Sa'd Ibn Mālik! May your mother weep upon your corpse! So far, I have unknowingly been injuring the feelings of the Messenger of God. By God, from now on I will not say or think ill of Ali, either in public or in secret."

Ibn 'Asākar narrates this very hadith from Abū Sa'īd Khudrī (Sa'd Ibn Mālik) in the *Tārīkh al-Damishq* (*History of Damascus*)[125] from the translation of *al-Imam Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, and at the end he says:

The Prophet said:

یاسعد بن مالك بن الشهید امه بعض قولك لاخیك علی، فوالله انه اخشن فی سبیل الله

O Sa'd Ibn Mālik Ibn Shahīd, stop saying such things about your brother Ali. By God, he is the firmest and most stable man on the path of God.

And in the *Izālat al-Khifā'*, Dihlavī relates:

اخرج ابو عمرو، عن اسحاق بن كعب بن عجرة، عن ابيه قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم: على محشوش فى ذات الله.

After explaining the case from Bayhaqī, Ibn Kathīr mentions the dividing up of the Yemeni garments in the absence of Ali. He says that the sharing out of the garments and the trinkets happened when Ali separated from the army; he took the sacrificial animals with him and, just like the Prophet, he wore the pilgrimage garb. Then the Prophet told him to remain in the state of restriction.[126]

However, we should recall what was said about Ali's arrival in Mecca, his meeting with Fāṭimah in her colorful dress and makeup, and his going to the Prophet to find out what had happened, as it is clear that this was his first meeting with the Prophet after his arrival. This is inconsistent with what Hāfiḍ Abū al-Qāsim Ṭabrānī has related concerning the hadith of ʿIkrama from Ibn Abbās, that states:

إنّ عليا تلقى النبى صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم الى الجحفة.[127]

This can be taken together with what Shaykh Mufīd relates in the *Irshād*: that as the Prophet was approaching Mecca from Medina, Ali was coming from Yemen. He then separated from his army and went to see the Prophet. After the Prophet had told him to remain in the pilgrimage garb, he told him:

عد الى جيشك فعجل بهم حتى نجتمع بمكة ان شاء الله.[128]

"Return to your army and bring them here quickly, so that, God willing, we arrive in Mecca together."

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is a man of truth and justice; therefore, he does not want to trespass against anyone's rights. However, people do not notice this subtle point. They do not realize that trespassing against the nation's treasury, taxes, and camels is this very thing. They believe that these things—even though they belong to the nation's treasury and are meant for the poor—are irrelevant, and that only straightforward worship constitutes good deeds, and the rest is worthless.

However, Ali could not partake of anything unlawful, or agree that his army share the goods, because to do so would be a manifest deviation that could gradually lead to other, even greater, tyrannies with the later caliphs. If closely examined, it becomes clear that the complaints against Ali were due to ignorance. People often consider something that goes against their wishes unpleasant, even if it is based upon logic and fact. They think that whatever interests them

and suits their tastes is pleasant, irrespective of whether it contradicts facts and the law.

Khālid's Letter of Complaint to the Prophet

One of the complaints against Ali came from Burayda Ibn Ḥuṣayb Aslamī, who reported it from Khālid Ibn Walid in Yemen. The Prophet had made Ali the leader of an army going to Yemen because of the apostasy of ʿAmr Ibn Maʿdī Karab,[129] who had looted the tribe of Banī al-Ḥārith Ibn Kaʿb and then fled to Yemen. The Prophet also assigned Khālid Ibn Walid some of the Arabs and sent them to the Juʿfī Arabs, and ordered that wherever the two armies came together, the commander of the two armies would be Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

After traveling some distance, Khālid saw the Juʿfī Arabs divide into two groups, and one group went to Yemen and the other joined the Banī Zubayd. When Ali received news of this, he sent a message to Khālid, telling him to halt wherever he was until he came to him. Khālid did not pay any attention to the message, and continued on his way. Then Ali sent his military deputy, Khālid Ibn Saʿīd al-ʿĀṣ, to Khālid Ibn Walid to stop him and tell him to wait. Khālid Ibn Saʿīd went off, and eventually made Khālid Ibn Walid and his army stop. When Ali got there, he reproached him for his disobedience.

Ali then set out to encounter Abū Ibn Maʿdī Karab, who had prepared himself to fight, but after a short while he went away and embraced Islam, and because of this, his wife and all the other women in the tribe were freed. Then Ali authorized Khālid Ibn Saʿīd to collect the welfare tax and booty, which Ali divided into five portions. He cast lots to separate God's share, and then divided the remainder. The first share was in the name of God, and included a beautiful young woman, whom Ali chose for himself. This was too much for Khālid Ibn Walid to bear, so he wrote a letter to the Prophet, pointing out all of what he saw as Ali's unpleasant behavior during the journey. He then sent the letter to the Prophet with Burayda Ibn Ḥuṣayb Aslamī, telling him that he should read the letter to the Prophet and stand witness to it.

Burayda went ahead of Khālid's army, which was moving towards Medina, and upon arriving there first, he went straight to the Prophet. No sooner had he arrived than he began to recount the complaints against Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, including his taking of the beautiful woman who was part of the booty and other matters.

Burayda read out Khālid's letter and verified it, saying: "O Messenger of God, if you permit this, the share of the Muslims will be taken."

فقال رسول الله: يا بريدة! احدثت نفاقا! ان علي بن أبي طالب يحل له من الفيء ما يحل لي، ان علي بن أبي طالب خير الناس لك و لقومك! و خير من اخلف بعدي لكافة امتي! يا بريدة احذر ان تبغض عليا فيبغضك الله!

The Prophet said:

> O Burayda, you encourage hypocrisy, and you tell us a falsehood. Whatever war booty is lawful for me is also lawful for Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. Know that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is the best of people for you and your family, and he is the best one for me to appoint as the caliph of my nation after me. O Burayda, beware of being Ali's enemy, or God will consider you His enemy also."

قال بريدة: فتمنيت ان الارض انشقت لي فسخت فيها، و قلت: اعوذ بالله من سخط الله و سخط رسوله، يا رسول الله! استغفر لي فلن ابغض عليا ابدا، و لا اقول فيه الا خيرا. فاستغفر له النبي. قال بريدة: فصار علي احب خلق الله بعد رسوله الي[130].

Burayda said: "I was so regretful of my words that I wished to be buried in the earth rather than staying alive, so I said: 'I take shelter in God from His wrath, and with His Messenger. So ask God for my forgiveness. I promise not to take Ali as my enemy again, and I will never speak ill behind his back or gossip about him.'"

The Prophet prayed for him, and Burayda said: "Since then, Ali has been for me the most beloved after the Prophet."

The great historians and narrators have related this hadith in different ways. Ibn Sa'd has it in his *Ṭabaqāt*,[131] and Ibn Kathīr has related that the Prophet asked Burayda: "O Burayda, do you hate Ali?" He answered: "Yes." Then the Prophet said: "Do not hate him, for his share in the welfare tax is more than this."

He relates in another hadith that among the female slaves there was one who was most beautiful, and after dividing the booty, Ali took her for himself. Then those present asked: "O Abū al-Ḥasan, what does this deed of yours mean?" and he answered: "What? Did you not see that this slave girl was amongst the other slave girls, and then I cast lots to share the booty, and this girl was my lot? Then I cast another lot and this girl was part of the share of the Prophet's Household. We even cast another lot, and this time she was my lot. Therefore, this was the right thing to do."

Burayda said:

> After that man (Khālid Ibn Walid) wrote a letter of vilification and sent me with it to uphold his protest, I read it in the presence of the Messenger of God and endorsed it. Just then, the Prophet stopped me, saying: "Do you take Ali as an enemy?" and I said: "Yes, I do." He then said: "Do not hate him, but increase your affection for him, for by Him who has my soul in His hand, Ali's due from the welfare tax is more than that young girl." Since then, other than the Prophet, no one has been more beloved to me than Ali.[132]

Shaykh Mufīd has this story in the *Irshād*, and he adds:

> As Burayda approached the Prophet's house, he met Omar al-Khaṭṭāb. Omar asked him about the war, and why he had returned early, and Burayda answered: "I want to point out some of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's bad aspects to the Prophet." Then Burayda told Omar the story of the young slave girl that Ali had taken for himself, and Omar said:
>
> امضِ لما جِئت له فانه سيغضب لابنته مما صنع علی!
>
> "To reveal this secret, go to the Prophet and explain the affair. I am sure that because of his daughter [Ali's wife], the Prophet will become angry at Ali's bad behavior."
>
> Burayda said that as he read the letter recounting Ali's faults from Khālid Ibn Walid, rather than becoming angry over Ali's actions, the Prophet became angry over his gossiping about him. The Prophet turned pale and stopped him from reading more. Then he said something to him concerning Ali.[133]

Also, after explaining this event in detail, Shaykh Ṭūsī says in his *Amālī* that Burayda said:

> When I went to the Prophet, I handed him the letter, which he took with his left hand. God, the Honorable and Exalted, has explained how the Prophet did not read or write, so I began relating the event and finding fault with Ali. Whether rightly or wrongly, as I spoke I was nodding my head. Nevertheless, I said what I wanted to, and when I had finished, I raised my head and saw that the Prophet was very angry. His anger was such as I had never seen before, other than on the Day of Banī Qurayẓa and Banī al-Nasr. He then told me:
>
> يا بريدة ان عليا وليكم بعدی، فأحب عليا فانه يفعل ما يؤمر!

"O Burayda, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is your master after me, and he has authority over you, so love him. He does the very thing that he has been commanded."

As I left the Prophet, I was thinking that there was no one more beloved to me in the world than Ali.

ᶜAbdullah Ibn ᶜAṭāʾ, the narrator of this hadith, says:

I explained this hadith to Abā Hārth Ibn Suwayd Ibn Ghafala, and he told me:

> ᶜAbdullah, son of Burayda, he who has related this hadith to you has left out certain parts, such as when the Prophet said to Burayda:
>
> انا صنت بعدی یا بریدۃ
>
> ("So Burayda, do you sow discord after me?")[134]

On this same topic, under the heading "Hadiths Concerning the Guardianship" in the *Tārīkh al-Damishq*, pages 458–482, Ibn ᶜAsākar mentions twenty-five hadiths from *The Book of al-Imam Amir al-Muʾminīn* concerning Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. The first hadith (no. 458), through his chains from Saᶜīd Ibn Jābir, quotes Ibn Abbās speaking of Burayda, up to the point where Burayda says:

فرایت وجه رسول الله صلی الله علیه [و آله] وسلم یتغیر: فقال: یا بریدۃ ألست اولی بالمؤمنین من انفسهم؟ فقلت: بلی یا رسول الله، فقال: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه.[135]

> I saw that the Prophet's face had turned pale, and he said: "O Burayda, is my guardianship of the believers not stronger than their guardianship of themselves?" I answered: "Yes, it is, O Messenger of God." Then he said: "Whomsoever I am Master of, so too is Ali his Master."

In the second hadith (no. 459), through his chains from Saᶜīd Ibn Jābir, Ibn Abbās records that Burayda said:

قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه [و آله] وسلم: علی مولی من کنت مولاه.[136]

"The Prophet stated: 'Ali is the Master and guardian of those of whom I am the Master and guardian.'"

In the third hadith (no. 460), Saᶜīd Ibn Jābir narrates from Ibn Abbās that Burayda said:

قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله وسلم: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه.[137]

"The Prophet said: 'Of whomsoever I am the Master, so is Ali his Master.'"

The fourth hadith (no. 461) is similar, but from another document.[138]

In the fifth hadith (no. 462), Saʿīd Ibn Jābir quotes Ibn Abbās stating that Burayda said:

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم: علي بن أبي طالب مولى من كنت مولاه.[139]

"The Prophet said: 'Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is the Master and guardian of those of whom I am the Master and guardian.'"

The sixth hadith (no. 463), by means of his document from Saʿīd Ibn Jābir, reports Ibn Abbās quoting Burayda saying:

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم: من كنت وليه فعلي وليه.[140]

"The Prophet stated: 'Of whomsoever I am the Master, so is Ali his Master.'"

Hadith no. 464 is another document from Ibn Abbās, in which he relates:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه.[141]

"The Prophet stated: 'Whomever I am Master of, so is Ali his Master.'"

In hadith no. 465, through his own chains, he has related ʿAbdullah Ibn ʿAṭāʾ quoting ʿAbdullah Ibn Burayda saying that his father said:

علي بن أبي طالب مولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنة وهو وليكم بعدي.[142]

"The Messenger of God said: 'Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is the Master of every believing man and woman, and he is your guardian after me.'"

In hadith no. 466, through his chains from Ajlaḥ, he quotes ʿAbdullah Ibn Burayda from his father, explaining the story of Ali's battle with Khālid Ibn Walid and the victory of the Muslims, as well as how Ali took one of the maidservants for himself:

> Khālid wrote a letter to the Prophet and sent me with it. He had told me to speak ill of Ali in front of the Prophet. When I was in the presence of the Prophet, I sensed by the look on his face that he was upset, but still I said: "My situation with Ali is so intolerable that I have taken refuge in you, for you sent me with a man [Khālid] and commanded me to obey him. But see now why he has sent me from what I am going to announce you."

قال: يا بريدة، الا تقع في علي، علي مني وانا منه، وهو وليكم بعدي.[143]

Then the Prophet said: "O Burayda, do not speak ill behind Ali's back, for he is with me, and I am with Ali, and he is your guardian after me."

He explains the same hadith in no. 467, with his own document from Ajlaḥ quoting ʿAbdullah Ibn Burayda from his father.[144] The same story is also related by means of another document in hadith no. 468.

In hadith no. 469, his document from ʿAbdullah Ibn ʿAṭāʾ relates how, after a long introduction, ʿAbdullah Ibn Burayda quotes his father as saying:

My enmity towards Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib exceeded that of anyone else, and Khālid had seen that in my nature. In the meantime, a man entered and said that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib had taken a young girl as his share of the welfare tax. Khālid said how unfair it was. Then another man came in, and yet another, and the news of this poured in, so Khālid Ibn Walid called me to him and said: "O Burayda, you know what Ali has done. Now take this letter to the Messenger of God and let him know what is going on here."

I took the letter and set out, and when I reached Medina I went to the Prophet.

The Prophet took the letter in his left hand, since he could neither read nor write, as God has stated. Now, it was a habit of mine that when I read something I would nod my head and show my feelings in gestures. This time, I did not raise my head even after I finished the letter, but began recounting Ali's faults. When my complaints had finished, I raised my head and found that the Prophet was furious. I had only seen him that angry on the day of Banī Qurayẓa and Banī Naḍir. He cast a glance at me and said:

يا بريدة ان عليا وليكم بعدى، فأحب عليا فانه يفعل ما يؤمر.[145]

"O Burayda, Ali is your guardian after me, so love him. Whatever he does is what he has been commanded to do."

ʿAbdullah Ibn ʿAṭāʾ said that when he read this hadith to Hārth Ibn Suwayd Ibn Ghafala, he said:

ʿAbdullah Ibn Burayda has left out some of this hadith, because the Prophet told him:

انا فقت بعدى يا بريدة!

"O Burayda, you are sowing discord that would follow after me."

It is related in hadiths nos. 470, 471, 473, 474, 475, 476, and 477 that Burayda said:

The Prophet stated:

من كنت وليه فعلي وليه [146]

("Of whomsoever I am the Master, so is Ali his Master.")

In hadith no. 472 he relates that the Prophet said:

من كنت وليه فان عليا وليه

("Of whomsoever I am Master, so is Ali his Master").

In hadith no. 478 he quotes from Burayda that the Prophet said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه وليه

("Of whomsoever I am Master, so is Ali his Master and guardian.")[147]

In hadith no. 479 he relates that the Prophet asked Burayda: "Do you hate Ali?" and Burayda answered: "Yes, I do." The Prophet then said: "Do not hate him." Then he made a sign and continued: "Love him, because Ali's share in the welfare tax is more than that."

In hadith no. 480 he relates the same story from another document.

In hadith no. 481, through his chains from ʿAmr Ibn ʿAṭiyya, he quotes ʿAbdullah Ibn Burayda as saying that his father said:

When I went to the Prophet he was washing and combing his hair. I began saying all sorts of things about Ali. However, it is worth mentioning that whenever we were in the presence of the Prophet, we did not look him in the eye. Then the Prophet said: "O Burayda! Keep quiet, and stop saying such things about Ali."

Then I raised my head and saw that his face had turned pale, and when I saw him thus, I said:

اعوذ بالله من غضب الله وغضب رسوله، قال بريدة: والله لا ابغضه ابدا بعد الذي رايت من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم.[148]

"I seek refuge in God from His Wrath, and the wrath of His Messenger. By God, I will never again hate Ali." I said this after noticing the Prophet's anger.

The version in hadith no. 482 is as follows:

فلا تبغضه وان كنت تحبه فازدد له حبا، فوالذي نفس محمد بيده لنصيب آل علي في الخمس افضل من وصيفة. قال: فما كان من الناس احد بعد قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم احب الى من علي.[149]

The Prophet said: "O Burayda, do not hate him. But if you love him, then increase your love for him. By God in whose hand my soul rests, the share of Ali's Household in the welfare tax is more than a single maid-servant." Burayda said that after the Prophet had spoken thus, no one was more beloved to him than Ali.

The Prophet's Anger against the Man Who Complained about Imam Ali

Ḥāfiz Abū Bakr Haythamī explains this hadith from where Burayda arrives in Medina. Burayda then said:

I arrived in Medina and entered the mosque, but the Prophet was not there. He was at home (and I went there). There were some of the companions in front of the house, and as soon as they saw me, they asked: "O Burayda, what news have you brought?" I said: "Good news, for God has made the Muslims victorious."

They asked me why I had returned so early, and I answered: "Ali has picked a young girl from the welfare tax, so I have come to report it to the Prophet." They said: "Yes, do so. Tell the Prophet, for this news humiliates Ali in front of him." They had no idea that the Prophet heard their words from inside the house. Then, all of a sudden, he walked out of the house in anger, and said:

ما بال اقوام يتنقصون عليا؟ من تنقص عليا فقد تنقصني، ومن فارق عليا فقد فارقني، ان عليا مني وانا منه، خلق من طينتي وخلقت من طينة ابراهيم، وانا افضل من ابراهيم، ذرية بعضها من بعض والله سميع عليم.

يا بريدة: اما علمت ان لعلي اكثر من الجارية التي اخذ، وانه وليكم بعدي؟

قلت: يا رسول الله! بالصحبة الا بسطت يدك فبايعتني على الاسلام جديدا. قال: فما فارقته حتى بايعته على الاسلام. رواه الطبراني في الاوسط.[150]

What is the purpose of those who blame Ali? Know that whoever blames Ali blames me also, and he who strays from Ali strays from me. Indeed, Ali is with me, and I am with Ali. Ali has been created from my nature, and I have been created of Abraham's nature, and

> I have priority over Abraham and am most noble. The chains of my offspring are joined one after another, and God is the Hearer and Aware (of that). O Burayda, do you not know that Ali's share in the welfare tax is more than a single slavegirl, for he is your Master and guardian after me?

Then I said: "O Messenger of God, I take you for an oath, for by this statement of yours, let me renew my allegiance to you."

And so I did not leave the Prophet until I had thus sworn.

Ṭabarānī has also related this hadith in his *Muᶜjam al-Awsaṭ*.

It is worth mentioning that according to certain histories[151] and hadiths, the Prophet, as head of the army, twice sent Ali to Yemen. Once he sent him to encourage ᶜAmr Ibn Maᶜdī Karab and Najrān to embrace Islam. In the meantime, he also sent Khālid Ibn Walid to the Banū Juᶜfī, and ordered that when the armies joined up, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib would be the commander of both armies. On that occasion, Ali made Khālid Ibn Saʿīd Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ the army chief, and Khālid Ibn Walid entrusted his army chieftainship to Abū Mūsā Ashᶜarī. It was during this journey that Khālid disagreed with Ali, and was later reproached for it. It was also on that journey that Khālid Ibn Walid wrote a letter of complaint against Ali and sent Burayda Ibn Ḥuṣayb Aslamī with it to the Prophet in Medina. Both the armies of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Khālid Ibn Walid were still on their stated missions when Burayda reached Medina and went straight to the Prophet. But no sooner had he handed the letter to him than he was reproached, and the Prophet advised him to follow Ali and always obey him.

The second occasion was after Khālid Ibn Walid had been in Yemen for six months, but since his efforts to spread Islam had failed, the Prophet sent Ali to replace him, and any of his army who wanted to join Ali were to be accepted. The concubine chosen by Ali was in the charge of Burayda Ibn Ḥuṣayb with the rest of the booty. He then went to Mecca with his army, and whilst there he separated from his army and joined the Prophet on the *ḥajj*.

However, in his absence, the chief guard divided the Yemeni garments amongst the soldiers. Later on, when Ali returned to his army and found them wearing the garments and jewelry, he told them to remove them, since they were part of the charity, and take them to the Prophet. This irritated the soldiers, and when they reached Mecca they started to find fault with him. Then the Prophet publicly announced that Ali would never waver in God's path, and that he

feared nothing in God's cause, for he was dissolved in the Essence of God.

Ali's mission took place in the tenth year of the Migration, and on the way back to Medina with the Prophet, the Prophet delivered his excellent sermon on the guardianship and the divine virtue of Ali at Juḥfa and Ghadīr al-Khum.

Abū Bakr Haythamī also relates the following from ʿAmr Ibn Shās Aslamī, who was one of the Ḥudaybīyya companions of the Prophet:

> I went to Yemen with Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. On the journey, Ali treated me unkindly, and he did this so much that I was quite annoyed with him. When we returned to Medina, I took my complaint to the people in the mosque, and it naturally reached the Prophet. Then early one morning when I arrived at the mosque, I saw the Prophet sitting with some of his companions, and when he saw that I was looking at him, he kept gazing at me until I sat down. He then said:
>
> يا عمرو! والله لقد آذيتني!
>
> قلت: أعوذ بالله من اذاك يا رسول الله!
>
> قال: بلى من آذى عليا فقد اذاني.[152]
>
> "O ʿAmr. By God, you have hurt my feelings." I said: "O Messenger of God, I take refuge in God for my hurting you."
>
> He said: "Yes, you did, for whoever hurts Ali, he indeed hurts me."

Furthermore, Haythamī has related from Abū Rāfiʿ that:

> The Prophet sent Ali as his deputy and chief of the army to Yemen, and among the soldiers who left the army was a man from the tribe of Aslam called ʿAmri Ibn Shās. Later, when this man returned to Medina, he began to slander Ali and spread his complaint amongst the people. Therefore:
>
> فبعث اليه رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم: فقال: اخسا يا عمرو! هل رايت من علي جورا
>
> في حكمه او اثرة في قسمه؟ قال: اللهم: لا.
>
> The Prophet sent for him, and they brought him to his presence, and he told him: "O ʿAmr, be quiet and go away. Have you suffered oppression at Ali's command? Or have you noticed him being biased in his sharing of the booty?" And the man said: "No, by God, I have not noticed."
>
> The Prophet said: "Then, why do you say things behind his back that I am told of soon after?"

ʿAmri answered: "Some of what I have said was not deliberate, and I said it without noticing what I was doing."

At that moment the Prophet was angry, and he told him:

من ابغضه فقد ابغضني، ومن ابغضني فقد ابغض الله، ومن احبه فقد احبني، ومن احبني فقد احب الله تعالى.[153]

"Whoever hates him, in fact hates me, and he who hates me, in fact hates God; and one who loves him, loves me; and he who loves me, in fact loves God, the Most High."

The Difference between the Greater *Ḥajj* Pilgrimage, the Separate *Ḥajj*, and the Combination *Ḥajj*:

Let us now return to the main verse, which concerns the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. The *ḥajj* pilgrimage is incumbent upon all the families of those who live in Mecca and nearby places. This applies to the enjoyment *ḥajj* until the Day of Resurrection, and forsaking it is considered a heinous sin, as verses in the Qurʾan warn.

The *ḥajj* pilgrimage was imposed after the demise of the Prophet Abraham, although his divine commands gradually weakened among the Arabs of the Hijāz and Saudi Arabia. Some of them have totally forgotten that the main rites of the *ḥajj*, with slight alterations, remain in place forever.

The *ḥajj* pilgrimage took place at a certain time, and the people wore the pilgrimage garb at a specific place called the *mīqāt* before going to Mecca. They brought animals with them to sacrifice at Minā. In this case, their *ḥajj* was known as the *ḥajj al-qirān*. If they did not bring sacrificial animals with them, the pilgrimage was called *ḥajj al-ifrād*. However, there is no earlier record of the enjoyment *ḥajj* (which is performed nowadays), and no one knew about it in the past. This kind of *ḥajj* is a characteristic of Islam, which Gabriel brought by God's command, and a related verse concerning it was revealed in the Qurʾan. However, a great many Muslims are surprised that they are able to make the enjoyment *ḥajj*.

Of course, their surprise is due to their familiarity with the *ḥajj al-qirān* and *ifrād*, in which the pilgrims wear the pilgrimage garb at the *miqāt*, go to Mecca, and then, with no concessions such as using perfume or being with their wives, they remain under the restrictions until after they have gone to ʿArafāt and Mashʿar and performed the remaining rites.

However, when a pilgrim enters Mecca nowadays, along with the enjoyment *ḥajj*, he performs *ʿumra* as well, and after that becomes free from the restrictions; that is, he changes his clothes, applies perfume, joins his wife, and is able to do many other things. This continues until he makes the intention for the *ḥajj*, puts on the pilgrimage garb again, and chants *labbayk*, and remains thus for the remaining *ḥajj*. So this is quite different.

While on *ḥajj al-qirān* or *ifrād*, the pilgrim remains in the state of restriction, unshaven, disheveled, and with dusty clothing and body. But on the enjoyment *ḥajj*, he is free from the restrictions for a while, and remains in Mecca enjoying whatever he wants. He then wears the pilgrimage garb again.

On the other hand, the Arabs, by adhering to bygone rules and customs, consider this kind of *ḥajj* wrong. This is because of what happened in the Age of Ignorance, when they considered it contrary to the real *ḥajj*, which they have continued to do. We now know that this objection is unfounded, because the conditions concerning the legislation of worship and the *ḥajj* rites has been established by God. By sending revelations, holy books, and prophets, He informs His creatures. On the whole, no matter who someone may be, and no matter how much knowledge he has, he cannot make commandments unless they are received from God, especially those concerning worship and direct contact with God.

The commands come from God and are explained to the people through His prophets. This also applies to the abrogation of rules, because abrogation introduces a new rule, and can only be done by God.

Until the Farewell Pilgrimage, the requirements for the *ḥajj* were based on the same tradition that the Prophet Abraham had appointed, which referred to the *qirān* and *ifrād*. During the Farewell Pilgrimage, this still applied to those living within forty-eight miles of Mecca. However, it was changed to the enjoyment *ḥajj* for those who came to Mecca from further away, for Gabriel brought down the following Qur'anic verse to the Prophet, which he read to the people after finishing the running and climbing of Mount Marwa:

فمن تمتع بالعمرة الى الحج فما استيسر من الهدى

He went on to say:

ذلك لمن لم يكن اهله حاضري المسجد الحرام

"It is incumbent upon those performing the *ḥajj* as the enjoyment *ḥajj* to sacrifice an animal according to their ability...and this enjoyment

ḥajj is necessary for those whose homes and families are not within the territory of the Sacred Mosque."

The next phrase,

ذلك لمن لم يكن اهله حاضري المسجد الحرام

places an emphasis on those coming to the *ḥajj* from far away. This command lasts until the Day of Resurrection, as the verse states. And in answer to Surāqat Ibn Mālik, the Prophet clearly emphasized the words by repeating: "This command will remain until the Day of Resurrection."

The reason for this is that the straight-forward legislation of Islam has removed the extra two months or more for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. Of course, it is not so difficult for the citizens of Mecca, because their families are there, and they can simply put on the pilgrimage garb at the right time to make the *ḥajj*. However, those who come to Mecca from far away have to wear the pilgrimage garb at an appointed *miqāt*, suffer the difficulties of traveling from one of the *miqāts* to Mecca, and remain in the state of restriction. Therefore, these kinds of difficulties were removed from the main *ḥajj*. Between the enjoyment *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* they can go to their wives and families and enjoy whatever is lawful. In this respect, it is interesting that the Qurʾan states:

لمن لم يكن اهله حاضري المسجد الحرام،

which means that a traveler needs peace, rest, and his family. Those who live in or near Mecca can be with their families, but those from elsewhere also need peace and serenity, so permission has been given for them to be with their lawful wives and maidservants in place of their families.

But as there have been differences of opinion regarding this legislation, immediately after the foregoing verse, God instructs man to be pious and warns him of His chastisement:

واتقوا الله واعلموا ان الله شديد العقاب

Sunni Hadiths Concerning Enjoyment during the *Ḥajj*

There is no doubt that the scholars believe that, following the tradition of the Prophet, the restrictions for the pilgrims are relaxed after fulfilling the *ḥajj* rites, so that they may have certain enjoyments before again wearing the pilgrim's garb. This was the same at the time of Abū Bakr and, to some extent, at the time of Omar. There is no difference between the Shiʿa and the Sunnis in this respect. However, the Shiʿa say that since the legislation comes from the Qurʾan and the

Prophet, it will remain so until the Day of Resurrection. But the Sunnis say that it was abolished at the time of Omar, whose command is final, just like the Prophet's.

This is a marked difference between the ideas of the Shi'a and the Sunnis. Obviously we do not need to quote the relevant hadiths and instructions of the Imams, because after the clear explanation in the Qur'anic verse and the Prophet's repeated explanations in Mecca, there is no need to mention it again.

However, merely for the sake of directing our Sunni brothers in an amicable way, we will quote some of the most precise texts from their authenticated books, and then briefly discuss them. It is hoped that if they consider them impartially, they will clearly learn the truth and will align themselves with us. We begin with:

ان فی ذلك لذكرى لمن كان له قلب او القى السمع وهو شهيد.[154]

"...surely in this (command) there are admonitions and warnings for anyone who has a heart, or lends an ear when he stands as a witness."

It is written in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

اخرج البخاری والبیهقی عن ابن عباس انه سئل عن متعة الحج، فقال: اهل المهاجرون والانصار و ازواج النبی صلی الله علیه [و آله] وسلم فی حجة الوداع واهللنا، فلما قدمنا مكة قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه [و آله] وسلم: اجعلوا اهلالكم بالحج عمرة الا من قلد الهدی. فطفنا بالبیت وبالصفا و المروة واتینا النساء ولبسنا الثیاب.

وقال: من قلد الهدی فانه لا یحل حتی یبلغ الهدی. ثم امرنا عشیة التروية ان نهل بالحج، فاذا فرغنا من المناسك جئنا فطفنا بالبیت وبالصفا والمروة، وقد تم حجنا وعلینا الهدی كما قال الله: «فما استیسر من الهدی فمن لم یجد فصیام ثلاثة ایام فی الحج وسبعة اذا رجعتم» الی امصاركم، والشاة تجزی. فجمعوا نسكین فی عام بین الحج والعمرة، فان الله انزله فی كتابه وسنة نبیه، واباحه للناس غیر اهل مكة.

قال الله تعالی: ذلك لمن لم یكن اهله حاضری المسجد الحرام.

واشهر الحج التی ذكرها الله: شوال وذو القعدة وذو الحجة، فمن تمتع فی هذه الاشهر فعلیه دم او صوم. والرفث: الجماع، والفسوق: المعاصی، والجدال: المراء.[155]

Bukhārī and Bayhaqī have quoted Ibn Abbās saying that when he was asked about marriage on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, he answered:

> All the Muhājir (Immigrants) and Anṣār (Helpers) and the wives of the Prophet wore the pilgrimage garb during the Farewell Pilgrimage and chanted the *labbayk*. We too wore the pilgrimage garb and chanted the *labbayk*. Then, when we entered Mecca, the Prophet told us all to change our intentions from the *ḥajj* pilgrimage to the *ʿumra*, with the exception of those who had brought with them sacrificial animals.
>
> We circumambulated the House of God and ran between Ṣafā and Marwa, and then went to our wives after changing our pilgrimage garb for our usual clothing.
>
> And the Prophet said: "Let whoever has brought a sacrificial animal remain as he was with his previous intention." Then, on the evening of *Tarwīya*, the Prophet told us to wear our pilgrimage garb for the *ḥajj* and begin chanting the *labbayk*.
>
> After we had finished our *ḥajj* rites we entered Mecca, circumambulated the House of God, ran between Ṣafā and Marwa, and finished the rites. There was only the sacrifice to be done, as God has stated that everyone should take his own sacrifice to Mecca according to his ability, and he who cannot afford it should fast for three days while on the pilgrimage, and seven more days upon his return home. One sheep is enough for each pilgrim.
>
> Thus, during the Farewell Pilgrimage the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* were united as God commanded in His Book. It is also the tradition of the Prophet, and is lawful for all except those living in the vicinity of Mecca. God has stated that this is a duty for those whose families do not reside within the territory of the Sacred Mosque.
>
> The season of the *ḥajj* that God has assigned is in the months of Shawwāl, Dhu al-Qaʿda and Dhi al-Ḥajja. So whoever makes the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in these months has to sacrifice an animal (a sheep, cow, or camel) or fast. The word
>
> فسوق
>
> means sin, crime, dispute, or harsh words.

It says in the commentary to *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

اخرج البخاری و مسلم عن ابن عمر، قال: تمتع رسول الله فی حجة الوداع بالعمرة الی الحج، و اهدی فساق معه الهدی من ذی الحلیفة، و بدا رسول الله فاهل بالعمرة، ثم اهل بالحج، فتمتع الناس مع النبی صلی الله علیه [و آله] و سلم بالعمرة الی الحج، فکان من الناس من اهدی فساق الهدی، و منهم من لم یهد.

فلما قدم النبی صلی الله علیه [و آله] و سلم مکة، قال للناس: من کان منکم اهدی فانه لا یحل لشیء حرم منه حتی یقضی حجه، و من لم یکن اهدی فلیطف بالبیت و بالصفا و المروة و لیقصر و لیحلل ثم لیهل بالحج، فمن لم یجد هدیا فلیصم ثلاثة ایام فی الحج و سبعة اذا رجع الی اهله.[156]

Bukhārī and Muslim have quoted Ibn Omar saying that to complete his pilgrimage in the Farewell *Ḥajj*, the Prophet divided his *ḥajj* into the main *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* in order to make a break before completing the main *ḥajj*, when he took a sacrificial animal with him from Dhu al-Ḥulayfa. He first made the intention for the minor pilgrimage, and then for the main *ḥajj*. The people on the *ḥajj* were permitted enjoyment between the minor pilgrimage and the main *ḥajj*. Some of the people had brought with them animals to sacrifice, and when the Prophet entered the vicinity of Mecca, he told them:

> Those among you who have brought with them sacrificial animals must adhere to those things that have been made unlawful, and must remain under the restrictions until the *ḥajj* is complete, but those who have not brought animals with them must circumambulate the Holy House, run between the Mounts of Ṣafā and Marwa, and then have their hair shaved to be released from their intention, and may then remove the pilgrimage garb. Then later, to complete the *ḥajj* rites, they are to wear the pilgrimage garb and chant the *labbayk*. He who cannot afford the sacrifice should fast for three days whilst on the *ḥajj*, and seven days more when he returns home to his family.

Although the Prophet performed the enjoyment *ḥajj*, this hadith has been subject to objections. However, considering the continuation of the hadith, whereby some had not brought sacrificial animals and became free from the restrictions, and then chanted *labbayk* for the main *ḥajj*, it is an explicit duty to change the personal *ḥajj* to the enjoyment *ḥajj*.

It also states in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

اخرج الحاكم و صححه من طريق مجاهد و عطاء عن جابر: قال: كثرت القالة من الناس، فخرجنا حجاجا حتى اذا لم يكن بيننا و بين ان نحل الا ليال قلائل امرنا بالاحلال.

قلنا: أيروح احدنا الى عرفة و فرجه يقطر منيا؟ فبلغ ذلك رسول الله، فقام خطيبا فقال: ايالله تعلمون ايها الناس؟ فانا و الله اعلمكم بالله و اتقاكم له. و لو استقبلت من امري ما استدبرت ما سقت هديا و لحللت كما احلوا. فمن لم يكن معه هدى فليصم ثلاثة ايام في الحج و سبعة اذا رجع الى اهله، و من وجد هديا فلينحر. فكنا ننحر الجزور عن سبعة. قال عطاء: قال ابن عباس: ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] و سلم قسم يومئذ في اصحابه غنما، فاصاب سعد بن ابي وقاص تيس، فذبحه عن نفسه.[157]

Ḥākim has extracted the text and corrected it through the chains of Mujāhid and ʿAṭāʾ, quoting Jābir, who said:

> By the command of the Prophet, amid much noise and fuss, a great many of the people got ready to make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. Then, after leaving Medina for the *ḥajj* rites and traveling for a few days, it was not a long distance to Minā, the place where we could abandon the restrictions. So the Prophet told us to free ourselves from the restrictions.
>
> We asked the Prophet how our people could go to ʿArafāt after they had sexual relations with their spouses. The Prophet heard our objection, and he stood up and began a sermon, saying:
>
> > O people. Are you now in such a state that you advise your Prophet what to do? By God, I am much closer to God than all of you, and my belief in Him and my piety is most high. If I already knew oncoming events, I would not have brought a sacrificial animal with me, and then I would also become free from the *ḥajj* restrictions. So let those who have no sacrificial animals fast for three days while on the pilgrimage, and then seven more days when they are back with their families, but anyone who can find an animal to sacrifice, let him do so.
>
> At that time, we would sacrifice a sound and mature camel and share it among seven people.

ʿAṭāʾ, the narrator of this story, says that Ibn Abbās said that on that day the Prophet distributed some sheep among the people to sacrifice, and Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqās's share was a male goat.

It states in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

أَخْرَجَ ابْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ وَالْبُخَارِيُّ وَمُسْلِمٌ عَنْ عِمْرَانَ بْنِ حَصِينٍ قَالَ: نَزَلَتْ آيَةُ الْمُتْعَةِ فِي كِتَابِ اللهِ، وَ فَعَلْنَا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيه (و آله) وسَلَمَ ثُمَّ لَمْ تَنْزِلْ آيَةٌ تَنْسَخُ آيَةَ مُتْعَةِ الْحَجِّ، وَلَمْ يَنْهَ عَنْهَا حَتَّى مَاتَ، قَالَ رَجُلٌ بِرَأْيِهِ مَا شَاءَ.[158]

Ibn Abī Shayba, Bukhārī, and Muslim have recorded that Imrān Ibn Ḥaṣīn said that after the verse about the enjoyment *ḥajj* was sent down, they made their enjoyment *ḥajj* along with the Prophet. There were no other verses revealed to abrogate the previous one, and the Prophet never changed it during his life time.

Our master Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī, after explaining this hadith in his book *Tafsīr al-Mizān*, mentions the following: "This hadith has been narrated in another way, but similar in meaning to the way it is in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*."

And the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Musnad Ḥanbal*, and *Sunan Nisā'ī Muṭraf* say that:

> When Imrān Ibn Ḥaṣīn was on his deathbed, he sent someone to take me to him. When I was there with him, he said:
>
> > I am revealing to you some hadiths, and I hope they will be useful for you after my death. But if I recover and get rid of my sickness, I will deny them, and never relate them to anyone. If I should pass away, then tell them to the people, because then God would have protected me for revealing them now. It is that the Prophet joined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*. After that, it was neither forbidden in the Book of God nor by the Prophet. However, someone said something about it of his own accord.[159]

It also states in the *Ṣaḥīḥ Tirmidhī* and the *Zād al-Muʿād* of Ibn Qayyim that:

سُئِلَ عَبْدُ اللهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ عَنْ مُتْعَةِ الْحَجِّ. قَالَ: هِيَ حَلَالٌ. قَالَ السَّائِلُ إِنَّ أَبَاكَ قَدْ نَهَى عَنْهَا، قَالَ: أَرَأَيْتَ إِنْ كَانَ أَبِي نَهَى وَصَنَعَهَا رَسُولُ اللهِ (ص)، أَأَمْرُ أَبِي مُتَّبَعٌ أَمْ أَمْرُ رَسُولِ اللهِ (ص)؟ قَالَ الرَّجُلُ: بَلْ أَمْرُ رَسُولِ اللهِ (ص). قَالَ: لَقَدْ صَنَعَهَا رَسُولُ اللهِ (ص).

ᶜAbdullah Ibn Omar was asked about the rest period during the *ḥajj*, and he said: "It is lawful."

Then someone asked him a question, but his father prohibited it. Then ᶜAbdullah said: "If my father prohibits it, but the Prophet permits it, then the people should follow either my father's or the Prophet's instruction." Then the man answered: "Of course, it is the Prophet who must be obeyed, and ᶜAbdullah has said that is how the Prophet did the *ḥajj*."

And in *Ṣaḥīḥ Tirmidhī*, *Sunan Bayhaqī*, *Sunan Nisāʾī*, and *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik and Umm Shāfiʿī, it is related from Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbdullah that he heard Saᶜd Ibn Abī Waqqās's discussion with Zaḥḥāk Ibn Qays about the *ḥajj* during the same year that Muᶜāwīyah Ibn Abī Sufyān had made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. Zaḥḥāk had said that no one makes the *ḥajj* immediately after the *ᶜumra* unless he is ignorant of God's command. On his part, Saᶜd said: "O my brother, you have brought up a difficult subject." And Zaḥḥāk responded: "Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb had avoided the people on the *ḥajj*." Then Saᶜd said: "But the Prophet performed it, and we should do what he did."[160]

It states in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*:

أَخْرَجَ الْبُخَارِيُّ وَمُسْلِمٌ وَالنَّسَائِيُّ عَنْ أَبِي مُوسَى، قَالَ: قَدِمْتُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَ آلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ وَهُوَ بِالْبَطْحَاءِ، فَقَالَ: أَهْلَلْتَ؟ قُلْتُ: أَهْلَلْتُ بِإِهْلَالِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَ آلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ. قَالَ: هَلْ سُقْتَ مِنْ هَدْيٍ؟ قُلْتُ: لَا. قَالَ: طُفْ بِالْبَيْتِ وَبِالصَّفَا وَالْمَرْوَةِ ثُمَّ حِلَّ. فَطُفْتُ بِالْبَيْتِ وَ بِالصَّفَا وَالْمَرْوَةِ، ثُمَّ أَتَيْتُ امْرَأَةً مِنْ قَوْمِي فَمَشَطَتْنِي رَأْسِي وَغَسَلَتْ رَأْسِي، فَكُنْتُ أُفْتِي النَّاسَ فِي إِمَارَةِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَإِمَارَةِ عُمَرَ، فَإِنِّي لَقَائِمٌ بِالْمَوْسِمِ إِذْ جَاءَ فِي رَجُلٌ فَقَالَ: إِنَّكَ لَا تَدْرِي مَا أَحْدَثَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي شَأْنِ النُّسُكِ؟ فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، مَنْ كُنَّا أَفْتَيْنَاهُ بِشَيْءٍ فَلْيَتَّئِدْ فَهَذَا أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ قَادِمٌ عَلَيْكُمْ، فَبِهِ فَائْتَمُّوا

فَلَمَّا قَدِمَ، قُلْتُ: مَاذَا الَّذِي أَحْدَثْتَ فِي شَأْنِ النُّسُكِ؟ قَالَ: إِنْ نَأْخُذْ بِكِتَابِ اللهِ، فَإِنَّ اللهَ قَالَ: «وَ أَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلّٰهِ»، وَإِنْ نَأْخُذْ بِسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّنَا صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَ آلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ، لَمْ يَحِلَّ حَتَّى نَحَرَ الْهَدْيَ.[161]

Bukhārī, Muslim, and Nisāʾī have reported the following from Abū Mūsā Ashᶜarī:

In the region of Baṭḥa in Mecca, I came across the Prophet, and he asked me if I had made my intention and worn the pilgrimage garb. I said that I had done so, just as he had. Then he asked: "Have you brought a sacrificial animal with you?" and I said that I had not. Then he ordered me to circumambulate the House, run between the Mounts of Ṣafā, and Marwa, and then become free of the restrictions.

I circumambulated the Sacred House and ran between the Mounts of Ṣafā and Marwa, and then went to one of our female relatives. She washed my hair and combed it, which was a rule I followed at the time of Abū Bakr and Omar from the last time I took part in the *ḥajj* with Omar, when I was a chief administrator to the pilgrims.

One day, a man came up and asked me: "Do you know of the command that the Commander of the Faithful (Omar) has issued?"

I announced to the people: "Whomsoever I have led in the *ḥajj* rites, let him wait, because the Commander of the Faithful is coming to us now, and you must take his orders."

When Omar approached us, I asked him: "What have you assigned for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage?"

He said: "The Book of God tells us to perform the *ḥajj* and the *ᶜumra* for God. But if we want to follow our Prophet, he did not become free of the restrictions until he had sacrificed a camel at Minā."

Therefore, to sum up these hadiths and those that follow is in effect to say that clear texts in the verses of the Qurʾan say that those who come to the *ḥajj* from far away have to perform the *ḥajj* as the main *ḥajj*. That is, they must first make their intention and wear the pilgrim's garb, and then, when in Mecca, circumambulate the Holy House, and after running between Ṣafā and Marwa free themselves from the *ḥajj* restrictions, thereby ending their *ḥajj*. In this way, in only one journey to Mecca they perform two pilgrimages: the *ᶜumra* and the *ḥajj*. Thereby the *ᶜumra* was combined with the *ḥajj*, with a period of respite between the two.

After that, Omar suspended this rule, and commanded that the *ᶜumra* was not to be made during the *ḥajj* season, and that at the *mīqāt*, the pilgrims intending to make the *ḥajj* should not wear the pilgrimage garb or include the enjoyment in their intention. But during the other months of the year, they are to make their intention at the *mīqāt* and wear the pilgrimage garb. In fact, the *ḥajj* has two parts: the personal *ḥajj* and *ḥajj al-qirān*. In this way, the *ḥajj* has the previous form

that was customary among the Arabs of the Age of Ignorance, following on from the tradition of the Prophet Abraham.

In total, the changes made for people traveling long distances for the *ḥajj*, the new instructions regarding the Farewell Pilgrimage revealed by Gabriel at the Mount of Marwa with the revelation of the verse:

ذَٰلِكَ لِمَن لَّمْ يَكُنْ أَهْلُهُ حَاضِرِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ

and then the successive sermons by the Prophet in Mecca and his refutation of those who disagreed have all been proven correct.

The Opponents' Rejection of the Verse و اتموا الحج والعمرة لله in the Argument

We should now discuss how all this came about, and the reasons why some people do not follow Omar's ruling of not including the enjoyment on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage.

They have reasoned for this in different ways. First of all, the Qur'an states:

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلَّهِ

And complete the ḥajj and ᶜumra for God... (2:196)

They claim that the *ḥajj* begins by making the intention and wearing the pilgrimage garb at the *mīqāt*, but that those who do this, and afterwards make the *ᶜumra* and free themselves from the restrictions, and then again make their intentions and wear the pilgrimage garb, have invalidated the *ḥajj* rites. This is because combining the *ᶜumra* and the *ḥajj* and abandoning the restrictions in between means abandoning the restrictions in the middle of the pilgrimage and not finishing it.

The answer is quite easy, because each pilgrimage (the main *ḥajj* and the *ᶜumra*) is completed in its own correct way. Whoever wears the pilgrimage garb at the *mīqāt*, makes the circumambulations, runs between Ṣafā and Marwa, and has his hair cut has fulfilled a complete *ᶜumra*. And whoever wears the pilgrimage garb in Mecca, and with the intention of making the *ḥajj* goes to Arafāt and Mashᶜar, and fulfils the rites at Minā and at the Sacred House has made a complete *ḥajj*. That is, he has performed all the rites properly and avoided all the impediments.

We understand that the establishment of the conditions of every detail and the removal of obstacles in the *ḥajj* and the *ᶜumra* are with the legislator, who assigns that for the *qirān* and the personal *ḥajj*, the people should make their intentions and wear the pilgrimage garb at

the *mīqāt*, but to do so in Mecca for the enjoyment *ḥajj*, although in each case the fulfilment of the *ḥajj* is the same. Anything other than this violates the integrity of the *ḥajj*. Therefore, the main thing is that everything in the *ḥajj* pilgrimage is established by the legislator, in which case the *ḥajj* is complete, but is incomplete if the rules are violated. No one else can add or omit any detail on his own account, and then consider the pilgrimage correct. The verse

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلّٰهِ.

says that the fulfilment of the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* is for God only. Therefore, one cannot extract from this verse other rules according to one's own understanding, whether it involves how to wear the pilgrimage garb, when to enter Mecca, how to finish the *ḥajj*, or how one should become free of the restrictions.

A Commentary on the Verse و اتمّوا الحجّ والعمرة لله

We now intend to shed more light on the details of the whole verse, and prove that the part that states

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلّٰهِ

does not mean what some people claim, but in fact means the opposite.

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلّٰهِ فَإِنْ أُحْصِرْتُمْ فَمَا اسْتَيْسَرَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ وَلَا تَحْلِقُوا رُءُوسَكُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَبْلُغَ الْهَدْيُ مَحِلَّهُ فَمَنْ كَانَ مِنْكُمْ مَرِيضًا أَوْ بِهِ أَذًى مِنْ رَأْسِهِ فَفِدْيَةٌ مِنْ صِيَامٍ أَوْ صَدَقَةٍ أَوْ نُسُكٍ فَإِذَا أَمِنْتُمْ فَمَنْ تَمَتَّعَ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ فَمَا اسْتَيْسَرَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ فَمَنْ لَمْ يَجِدْ فَصِيَامُ ثَلَاثَةِ أَيَّامٍ فِي الْحَجِّ وَسَبْعَةٍ إِذَا رَجَعْتُمْ تِلْكَ عَشَرَةٌ كَامِلَةٌ ذَٰلِكَ لِمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ أَهْلُهُ حَاضِرِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ.

And perform the ḥajj and ʿumra for God. And if you are prevented, then send such gifts as can be easily obtained, and shave not your heads until the gifts have reached their destination. And whoever among you is sick or has an ailment of the head must pay a ransom of fasting or almsgiving or offering. And if you are in safety, then whosoever contents himself with the visit for the pilgrimage (shall give) such gifts as can be had with ease. And whosoever cannot find (such gifts), then a fast of three days while on the pilgrimage, and of seven when you have returned; that is, ten in all. That is for him whose folk are not present at the Holy Mosque. Observe your duty to God, and know that God is severe in punishment (2:197).

The verse begins with: *And perform the ḥajj and ʿumra for God.*

Everything is the effect of a cause, and when there are additional causes, that particular thing becomes certain and has sense and order. Therefore, with this beginning, we discover the real sense and meaning of the whole verse, and it becomes complete.

For example, by adding each part of a man to another and putting them all together, he becomes a whole human being. However, his courage and knowledge constitute his completion. Adding parts to others in a machine, such as an engine, makes it complete and functional. However, perfection is more than this.

The words

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ

mean to fulfil all the related *ḥajj* rites in the proper way, without omitting anything. A good example of this is the statement

فَإِنْ أُحْصِرْتُمْ فَمَا اسْتَيْسَرَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ

So, if because of sickness, or being prevented from entering Mecca for the rites, one has to send a sacrificial animal by any other means, when it is done in the proper way, one can become free of the restrictions after the sacrifice.

It is obvious that any kind of change obstructs the completion of the *ḥajj*. Therefore, this verse clearly explains that in all respects the rites of the *qirān*, *ifrād*, or the enjoyment *ḥajj* must be fully completed, with nothing changed or overlooked.

In this verse God establishes the rules of the enjoyment *ḥajj*. Those who are to reap its advantages must make the sacrifice at Minā, as that completes the *ḥajj*, and it is incumbent upon those whose homes are far from Mecca.

Therefore, the beginning of the verse

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلَّهِ

Fulfil the ḥajj and ʿumra for God is a command to correctly fulfil all the types of pilgrimage. It then distinguishes between two types: the enjoyment *ḥajj* for those who live far from Mecca, and the other for those who live nearby. And the necessity for the reaping (enjoyment) is drawn from this following verse:

ذَٰلِكَ لِمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ أَهْلُهُ حَاضِرِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ

That is for someone whose family does not live about the Holy Mosque, but not from the phrase

فَمَنْ تَمَتَّعَ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ

because

فَمَنْ تَمَتَّعَ

establishes the distinction. The phrase

ذَٰلِكَ لِمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ

indicates one part of it, which is incumbent upon those living far away. Therefore, the meaning is quite clear.

We can now understand that the whole quality of the *ḥajj* and the other religious rites must be legislated by the lawmaker, that is, the Prophet, through the descent of Gabriel, who brought the verse

ذَٰلِكَ لِمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ أَهْلُهُ حَاضِرِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ.

The words of the Prophet on the Mount of Marwa and his sermon in Mecca emphasized that the quality of the *ḥajj* remained the same for those living far from Mecca until the Day of Resurrection. Thus their *ḥajj* is the main *ḥajj*, but not the personal *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra*. Therefore, according to the command of the Prophet, the verse

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ

invites us to the main *ḥajj* pilgrimage, which is the reaping *ḥajj* for those who live far away, whereas for others it is different.

The relationship of the verse

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ

(concerning the difference between the reaping *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*) and the fulfilment of the *ḥajj* by wearing the pilgrim's garb at the appointed place and time, is related to the following verse:

فدون اثباته خرط القتاد

as Allāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī has stipulated.[162] This makes it quite clear that Omar's reasoning that the verse

وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلّٰهِ

lacks the permission for the reaping *ḥajj* (as in the previously mentioned hadith of Abū Mūsā Ashʿarī), is incorrect. This is similar to his incorrect interpretation of this verse in another hadith, that is, the hadith related in *Tafsīr al-Durr al-Manthūr*, which states:

أَخْرَجَ مُسْلِمٌ عَنْ أَبِي نَضْرَةَ قَالَ: كَانَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ يَأْمُرُ بِالْمُتْعَةِ، وَكَانَ ابْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ يَنْهَى عَنْهَا، فَذَكَرَ ذَٰلِكَ لِجَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللّٰهِ، فَقَالَ: عَلَى يَدَيَّ دَارَ الْحَدِيثُ، تَمَتَّعْنَا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللّٰهِ صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَ آلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ، فَلَمَّا قَامَ عُمَرُ، قَالَ: إِنَّ اللّٰهَ كَانَ يُحِلُّ لِرَسُولِ اللّٰهِ مَا شَاءَ مِمَّا شَاءَ، وَإِنَّ الْقُرْآنَ نَزَلَ مَنَازِلَهُ، فَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ كَمَا أَمَرَكُمُ اللّٰهُ وَ افْصِلُوا حَجَّكُمْ مِنْ عُمْرَتِكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ أَتَمُّ لِحَجِّكُمْ وَأَتَمُّ لِعُمْرَتِكُمْ.[163]

Muslim quotes Abū Naḍra saying that Ibn Abbās used to instruct people on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, but that Ibn Zubayr prohibited it. This story reached Jābir Ibn ʿAbdullah Anṣārī, and he said:

> This case is in our hands, and we should be consulted. We performed the reaping *ḥajj* with the Prophet, and then when Omar took charge, he said that God's policy was established through His Prophet, making it lawful for him. The Qur'an has been revealed in the proper manner. So perform your *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* as God has commanded, but separate your *ḥajj* from the *ʿumra*, because separating the two makes your *ḥajj* perfect and complete.

By this statement, Omar's answer becomes clear. Because of the Qur'an's clear explanation, the reaping *ḥajj* was not specified only for the Prophet, who taught in his sermon how the main *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* can be simultaneous. All the scholars, whether Shiʿa or Sunni, are of the same opinion that the descent of a verse on a particular topic does not mean that it applies to only one particular occasion. Therefore, the words

ان القرآن نزل منازله

and "So fulfil your *ḥajj* rites, but separate the main *ḥajj* from the *ʿumra*" are quite clear, and one does not need to seek alternative conclusions about a clear text.

The second objection was that the *ḥajj* remains complete without the enjoyment, and follows the tradition of the Prophet, because although he did not sacrifice an animal, he remained in the state of ritual taboo until he had performed the rites at Minā. Therefore, Omar's following sermon in the hadith of Abū Mūsā Ashʿarī is quite baseless:

ان ناخذ بكتاب الله فان الله قال: «وَأَتِمُّوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلّٰهِ» وَان نَأْخُذْ بِسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّنَا (ص) لَمْ يَحِلَّ حَتَّى نَحَرَ الْهَدْيَ.

However, the Prophet had not commanded anything contrary to his previous statement. This is similar to what he has said concerning voluntary fasting and staying awake at night to pray. But where he has made other statements, like the permission to marry up to four wives, to follow his example by marrying nine women clearly goes against his law. He made it clear in the Farewell Pilgrimage that he remained in the state of ritual taboo because he had a sacrificial animal with him; otherwise he would have done differently. Therefore, remaining in the state of ritual taboo up until Minā goes against the

tradition for those who have no sacrificial animal. And as this command lasts until the Day of Resurrection, it goes against his law and command for those living far from Mecca to make their personal *ḥajj* the main *ḥajj*. Therefore, it is strange to claim that this follows the laws and traditions, when the Prophet rejected this false claim in his sermon in Mecca, where he stated:

أبالله تعلّمون أيّها الناس

"Do you take the lead in God's command? And do you want to teach God and His Messenger?"

However, the *ḥajj* rites do not end immediately after shaving the head without going to Minā, for the verse decrees that the pilgrim who has a sacrificial animal with him must not shave his head at that point, and if he does not reside in Mecca, his *ḥajj* will not be accepted. In short, the Prophet did not perform the enjoyment *ḥajj*, but nonetheless, he commanded all his followers, and all other Muslims, to fulfil the enjoyment *ḥajj* until the Day of Resurrection. So how can this not be taken as a tradition of the Prophet? Can a matter specified for the Prophet, while he tells his people something else, be taken as a tradition of the Prophet? Not at all.

The Greater *Ḥajj* Was Not Only Specified for the Companions of the Prophet

We can see that when some have said: "The enjoyment *ḥajj* was for those with the Prophet," this is also baseless. It states in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

أخرج ابن ابي شيبة ومسلم عن أبي ذر، قال: كانت المتعة في الحج لأصحاب محمد صلى الله عليه (واله) وسلم خاصة.[164]

Ibn Abī Shayba and Muslim have quoted Abūdharas saying that:

أخرج مسلم عن أبي ذر قال: لا تصلح المتعتان إلا لنا خاصة - يعني متعة النساء ومتعة الحج.[165]

Muslim extracted it from the *Abūdhar*, and the writer said that two marriages are not permitted, except for marrying women for enjoyment while on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage.

There is also a hadith in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that says:

اخرج اسحاق بن راهويه عن عثمان بن عفان أنه سئل عن المتعة في الحج، فقال: كانت لنا، ليست لكم.[166]

The meanings of these two hadiths go against the verse that states:

ذَٰلِكَ لِمَنْ لَّمْ يَكُنْ أَهْلُهُ حَاضِرِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ

because the verse does not apply to a specific time or group of people. These hadiths are rejected, because they contradict the Holy Book as well as the Prophet's statement when he raised two fingers and said: "Like these two fingers, the enjoyment *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* are together, and thus they will remain until the Day of Resurrection." In addition, they were rejected by some of the Prophet's companions, such as Omar, Othmān, Ibn Zubayr, Abū Mūsā Ashʿarī, and Muʿāwīyah (and Abū Bakr in some hadiths), and they avoided the main *ḥajj*. So it becomes clear that it was not specified only for the Prophet.

In *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*,[167] Ibn Kathīr Damashqī writes: "Ahmad Ḥanbal rejected this statement, saying: 'How can the hadith concerning the enjoyment *ḥajj* be important, when only eleven companions of the Prophet have related it!'" Ibn Abbās also pronounced his judgment on the enjoyment *ḥajj*. And in *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, after the Prophet's statement concerning the change of the *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra*, Surāqat Ibn Mālik's question, and the Prophet's sermon after hearing what the opponents said, the writer confesses that all this proves the purpose of the enjoyment—becoming free from the restrictions between the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*—and that this command is to last until the Day of Judgment. However, he immediately says: "Our jurisprudents have answered this question by saying that this kind of *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* was specified for the companions in that particular year to oppose the tradition of the Age of Ignorance, when they believed it was unlawful to fulfil the *ʿumra* during the season of the enjoyment *ḥajj*, since they considered it debauchery." Abū Ḥanifa, Mālik, Shāfiʿī, and other scholars have stuck to this opinion. However, Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal and others opposed them, claiming that the *ḥajj* was not specified for the people of that era, but now applies to all until the Day of Resurrection. Thus, it is permissible for anyone without a sacrificial animal to change the *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra*, and then, after fulfilling the rites of the *ʿumra*, to be free from the *ḥajj* restrictions.[168]

In addition, it has also been said that the aspect of the pilgrim who is wearing the pilgrimage garb and within the restrictions should be like one who is traveling towards God: he toils and struggles, with disheveled and dusty hair, not taking a bath, with no perfume or musk, and he has forsaken his family, possessions, and enjoyments. However, once free from the restrictions in Mecca, he is to

wash, comb his hair and apply perfume, approach his wife and lawful maids, wear smart and sewn clothing as he would at home, and then allow the majesty of the *ḥajj* to fade away.

Omar's Attitude towards Enjoyment during the *Ḥajj*

In his *Musnad*, Ahmad Ḥanbal has quoted Abū Mūsā Ashʿarī saying that:

إنَّ عُمَرَ قَالَ: هِيَ سُنَّةُ رَسُولِ اللهِ (ص)- يَعْنِي الْمُتْعَةَ- وَلَكِنِّي أَخْشَى إِنْ يُعَرِّسُوا بِهِنَّ تَحْتَ الأَرَاكِ ثُمَّ يَرُوحُوا بِهِنَّ حُجَّاجاً.[169]

"In fact, Omar said that enjoyment [on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage] is the custom and tradition of the Prophet, but he was afraid that the men might take their wives [into the shade] under the *arāk* trees in Mecca, and then take them to the *ḥajj* rites from there."

And in *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*, Suyūṭī has quoted Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib as saying that:

إنَّ عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ نَهَى عَنِ الْمُتْعَةِ فِي أَشْهُرِ الْحَجِّ وَقَالَ: فَعَلْتُهَا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ (ص) وَأَنَا أَنْهَى عَنْهَا؛ وَ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ أَحَدَكُمْ يَأْتِي مِنْ أُفُقٍ مِنَ الآفَاقِ شَعِثاً نَصِباً مُغْتَبِراً فِي أَشْهُرِ الْحَجِّ؛ وَإِنَّمَا شَعْثُهُ وَنَصَبُهُ وَتَلْبِيَتُهُ فِي عُمْرَتِهِ، ثُمَّ يَقْدِمُ فَيَطُوفُ بِالْبَيْتِ وَيَحِلُّ وَيَلْبَسُ وَيَتَطَيَّبُ وَيَقَعُ عَلَى أَهْلَهِ إِنْ كَانُوا مَعَهُ حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ يَوْمُ التَّرْوِيَةِ أَهَلَّ بِالْحَجِّ وَخَرَجَ إِلَى مِنًى يُلَبِّي بِحَجِّهِ لَا شَعَثَ فِيهَا وَلَا نَصَبَ وَلَا تَلْبِيَةَ إِلَّا يَوْماً؛ وَالْحَجُّ أَفْضَلُ مِنَ الْعُمْرَةِ؛ لَوْ خَلَّيْنَا بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَ هَذَا لَمَانَقُوهُنَّ تَحْتَ الأَرَاكِ، مَعَ أَنَّ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ لَيْسَ لَهُمْ ضَرْعٌ وَلَا زَرْعٌ وَإِنَّمَا رَبِيعُهُمْ فِيمَنْ يَطْرَءُ عَلَيْهِمْ.[170]

Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb has prohibited the fulfilment of the *ḥajj* as the enjoyment *ḥajj* in the season of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. However, he claimed:

> On the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet and I fulfilled our *ḥajj* as the enjoyment *ḥajj*, but I ban others from doing so, because enjoyment diminishes the rigor of the *ḥajj*, just as in the *ʿumra*. The one who comes from afar to Mecca with great difficulty, then changes the intention for the *ḥajj* to that of the *ʿumra*, wears the pilgrimage garments, chants "God is Most Great," enters Mecca, circumambulates the Holy House, and performs all the rites then becomes free from the restrictions. He changes his pilgrimage garb for his new sewn clothes and applies perfume, and if his wife is with him, he even has intercourse, and waits until the day of *Tarwiya* to wear the pilgrimage garments again, chant the *labbayk*, and set out for Minā.

In this way, he has put on the garments, but without toiling and feeling the difficulties of the journey, and he has chanted the *labbayk* for one day only.

The *ḥajj* has priority over the *ʿumra*, and if we let people become free during the *ḥajj*, they will probably approach their wives under the *arāk* trees. Apart from that, those who dwell in Mecca and have neither cattle nor agriculture depend upon the pilgrims entering Mecca. So if the *ʿumra* is separated from the *ḥajj*, it is obvious that every pilgrim enters Mecca twice for his full *ḥajj* rites. But if they are not separated, then every pilgrim enters Mecca only once, and naturally the benefit to the residents is less.

It is mentioned in some hadiths that Omar has said:

قَدْ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ (ص) فَعَلَهُ وَأَصْحَابُهُ، وَلَكِنِّي كَرِهْتُ أَنْ يُعَرِّسُوا بِهِنَّ فِي الْأَرَاكِ ثُمَّ يَرُوحُونَ فِي الْحَجِّ تَقْطُرُ رُؤُوسُهُمْ.[171]

"Indeed, I know that the Prophet and his companions made the enjoyment *ḥajj*. However, I dislike seeing the men taking their wives under the *arāk* trees, then setting out for the *ḥajj* with drops of water running down their faces after taking their enjoyment."

We can observe quite clearly that this goes against what God and His Prophet have permitted, that is, that there should be no objection to partaking of the enjoyment *ḥajj*. So how can someone consider that his personal opinion has priority?

God and His Prophet knew that Omar would be afraid of what people might do, and thus they authorized the enjoyment *ḥajj*, and permitted the people to carry out the *ḥajj* in this way. And these blessings and mercy were given to the Prophet to make it clear that God had removed the hardships that earlier nations had, since God answered the following plea:

رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَا إِصْرًا كَمَا حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تُحَمِّلْنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ

...O Lord! Lay not upon us a burden as You did with those before us! Our Lord! Lay not upon us a burden greater than we have strength to bear... (2:286.)

If God and His Messenger give clear permission, then who would dare oppose it? God and His Messenger know best about the law. As already mentioned, perhaps the long duration of the *ḥajj* would cause some of the pilgrims to lose patience and commit a sin to which they were disinclined. God is most merciful towards His creatures, and He removed this hardship, changing difficulty to ease.

And it is most odd that in the verse permitting the enjoyment *ḥajj*, God mentions precisely what Omar was afraid of, but clearly permits it, for do the words

فَمَنْ تَمَتَّعَ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ

refer to anything other than the enjoyment of clean clothes and other such things? A good example of this point is in a hadith in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*,[172] which says:

اخرج ابن أبي شيبه وابن المنذر عن عطاء قال: إنما سميت المتعة لأنهم كانوا يتمتعون من النساء والثياب. و في لفظ: يتمتع بأهله وثيابه.

Hence, the meaning of

فَمَنْ تَمَتَّعَ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ وَمَنْ يُعَرِّسْ بِزَوْجَتِهِ وَأَمَتِهِ تَحْتَ الْأَرَاكِ بَعْدَ الْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى زَمَانِ الْحَجِّ فَمَا اسْتَيْسَرَ مِنَ الْهَدْيِ.

The strangest thing of all is that some of the companions objected to the enjoyment *ḥajj*, considering it an ugly affair to have intercourse whilst on the *ḥajj*, saying:

أَيَرُوحُ أَحَدُنَا إِلَى عَرَفَةَ وَفَرْجُهُ يَقْطُرُ مَنِيًّا.[173]

When news of this reached the Prophet, he told them just the opposite of their false assumption, by telling them to make the enjoyment *ḥajj*, just as before. That is, he again told them to enjoy their women and wear nice clothes and perfume. Now, is it not a matter of ignorance to consider such things unpleasant?

Another issue is that because of the closure of the markets in Mecca, as we related from the hadith of Suyūṭī in *Jamᶜ al-Jawāmiᶜ* from Saʿīd Ibn Musayyib, Omar said that the residents of Mecca would have no provisions, and their hope was in the pilgrims coming there for the *ḥajj*. Therefore, if the reaping *ḥajj* and the *ᶜumra* are performed at two different times, it will be better for them.

The answer to this is that such compassion is only for God, and God is not in need of compassion. This kind of reasoning goes against what God has said, as He clearly provides for His slaves, since *...whosoever puts his trust in God, He will suffice him. Indeed, God will surely accomplish His purpose* (65:3).

We need to be His obedient and sincere slaves and not interfere in His affairs, not trespass against our slavehood or our duties, nor be presumptuous, as He states:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تُقَدِّمُوا بَيْنَ يَدَيِ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ

O ye who believe! Be not forward in the presence of God and His messenger... (49:1).

At the beginning of Islam, the Muslims were so short of sustenance that if the pilgrims traveling to Mecca were stopped, those living in Mecca would be faced with hardship. Then God sent this verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنَّمَا الْمُشْرِكُونَ نَجَسٌ فَلَا يَقْرَبُوا الْمَسْجِدَ الْحَرَامَ بَعْدَ عَامِهِمْ هَٰذَا وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ عَيْلَةً فَسَوْفَ يُغْنِيكُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ إِنْ شَاءَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ.

O ye who believe! Truly the idolaters are unclean. So let them not come near the inviolable place of worship after this their year. If you fear poverty (from the loss of their merchandise) God shall preserve you of His bounty if He will. Indeed, God is the Knower, Wise (9:29).

Another point concerns hardship during the enjoyment *ḥajj*, for we should be aware that there is no enjoyment without hardship.

It has been related in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

أَخْرَجَ مُسْلِمٌ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ شَقِيقٍ، قَالَ: كَانَ عُثْمَانُ يَنْهَى عَنِ الْمُتْعَةِ، وَكَانَ عَلِيٌّ يَأْمُرُ بِهَا، فَقَالَ عُثْمَانُ لِعَلِيٍّ كَلِمَةً، فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ (ع) لَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ أَنَّا تَمَتَّعْنَا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه (و آله) وسلم، وقَالَ: وَلَكِنَّا كُنَّا خَائِفِينَ.[174]

Muslim reports ʿAbdullah Ibn Shaqiq relating that Othmān used to avoid those taking part in the enjoyment *ḥajj*, even though Ali constantly told them to make such a pilgrimage. Once Ali asked Othmān: "Did you not know that we made the enjoyment *ḥajj* with the Messenger of God?" and Othmān answered: "Yes, but we were in a state of hardship then."

And it is related in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

أَخْرَجَ ابْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ وَابْنُ جَرِيرٍ وَابْنُ الْمُنْذِرِ عَنِ ابْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ أَنَّهُ خَطَبَ فَقَالَ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ وَاللهِ مَا التَّمَتُّعُ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ كَمَا تَصْنَعُونَ، إِنَّمَا التَّمَتُّعُ أَنْ يُهِلَّ الرَّجُلُ بِالْحَجِّ فَحَصَرَهُ عَدُوٌّ أَوْ مَرَضٌ أَوْ كَسْرٌ، أَوْ يَحْبِسَهُ أَمْرٌ حَتَّى يَذْهَبَ أَيَّامُ الْحَجِّ فَيَقْدَمُ فَيَجْعَلُهَا عُمْرَةً فَيَتَمَتَّعُ تَحِلُّهُ إِلَى الْعَامِ الْمُقْبِلِ ثُمَّ يَحُجُّ وَيُهْدِي هَدْياً، فَهَذَا التَّمَتُّعُ بِالْعُمْرَةِ إِلَى الْحَجِّ.[175]

Ibn Abī Shayba, Ibn Jurayr, and Ibn Mundhar have reported that Zubayr delivered a sermon in which he said:

> O people! By God, because one makes the *ʿumra* before finishing the *ḥajj*, the performance of the enjoyment *ḥajj* is unlike what you are doing, for the meaning of the enjoyment *ḥajj* is that one makes the intention, wears the pilgrim's garb for the *ḥajj*, and begins chanting

"Here I am, O God." But one might fail to perform the *ḥajj* rites because of an enemy, illness, or injury, or some other unknown event. In that case, the intention is changed to that of the *ʿumra*, and one goes to Mecca and performs the *ʿumra*; then the intention is changed from the *ʿumra* to the reaping *ḥajj*, and one considers this performance of the *ʿumra* as expiation for failing in the *ḥajj*. One waits until the next *ḥajj* season, and then takes a sacrificial animal on the *ḥajj*. This is the meaning of the enjoyment, that is, the making of the *ʿumra* in the meantime, until the next time of the *ḥajj*.

However, the verse of the Qur'an and what the Prophet said are absolute, and are not monopolized by the idea of hardship. The verse

فاذا أمنتم

clearly explains that the command about enjoyment occasions peace and security. Therefore, there is no reason to restrict the verse only to a time of hardship. Apart from that, what ʿAbdullah Ibn Zubayr said comes from his own imagination. Nothing of his commentary is related in the tradition, and goes against the verse and the words of the Prophet. Also, we do not rely only on the verse

فمن تمتع بالعمره الى الحج

to prove the necessity of enjoyment during the *ḥajj*, whereby one could say that this only points to the necessity of the sacrifice on the *ḥajj*. But our reasoning may be confirmed by the rest of the verse, which says:

ذلك لمن لم يكن أهله حاضري المسجد الحرام

and this has nothing to do with the fear of enemies, illness, or injury. It is meant for the sanctioning of enjoyment for those traveling long distances to the *ḥajj*.

Another point concerns the guardianship, since Omar prohibited the enjoyment on the basis of his own religious guardianship. This is because God has assigned obedience to those in authority:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ.

O ye who believe! Obey God, and obey the messenger of those who are in authority... (4:59).

Therefore, Omar's prohibition of the enjoyment *ḥajj* relates to the period when he ruled. It says in the *Sunan of Nisāʾī* of Ibn Abbās:

سَمِعْتُ عُمَرَ يَقُولُ: وَاللهِ إِنِّي لَأَنْهَاكُمْ عَنِ الْمُتْعَةِ وَإِنَّهَا لَفِي كِتَابِ اللهِ، وَلَقَدْ فَعَلَهَا رَسُولُ اللهِ (ص) - يَعْنِي الْعُمْرَةَ فِي الْحَجِّ.[176]

"I heard Omar saying: 'By God, I will prohibit the enjoyment *ḥajj*, even if it is mentioned in God's Book and the Prophet did so.' By saying this, he meant the joining of the *ʿumra* with the *ḥajj*."

And in the *Sunan-i Bayhaqī* there are hadiths from Muslim, Abī Naḍra, and Jābir, saying that:

انّ ابن الزبير ينهى عن المتعة وابن عباس يأمر به، قال: على يدى جرى الحديث، تمتعنا مع رسول الله (ص) ومع ابى بكر، فلما ولى عمر خطب الناس فقال انّ رسول الله (ص) هذا الرسول، و القرآن هذا القرآن، وانهما كانتا متعتين على عهد رسول الله (ص) وانا انهى عنهما واعاقب عليهما، احديهما متعة النساء، ولا اقدر على رجل تزوج امرأة إلى أجل إلا غيبته بالحجارة، و الاخرى متعة الحج.[177]

Abdullah Ibn Zubayr prohibited temporary marriages, while ʿAbdullah Ibn Abbās was encouraging temporary marriages, so Jābir Ibn ʿAbdullah said:

> This story has been formed by us, and it must be questioned and learned from us. We used to make the enjoyment *ḥajj* with the Prophet, and we also did so at the time Abū Bakr. However, when the rulership was transferred to Omar, he addressed the people in a sermon, saying:
>
> > The Prophet is the same Prophet, and the Qur'an is the same Qur'an. There used to be two enjoyment *ḥajj* pilgrimages at the time of the Prophet, and now I am going to prohibit both of them. From now on, whoever performs the enjoyment *ḥajj* will face the consequence, for I will punish him. One is the enjoyment with women, because I cannot tolerate a man marrying a woman for a certain period of time, and the other is the enjoyment of women during the *ḥajj*.

The fact of the matter is that Omar had not been given God's authority to change a law by making an unlawful thing lawful or vice versa, and a verse such as

وأطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول وأولي الأمر منكم

cannot denote the necessity of obedience. First of all, as we explained in volume two of *Knowing the Imams*, in the section "The Science of Islamic Knowledge," the phrase "those in authority" applies to the Infallibles, and Fakhr Rāzī, who is very strict in his beliefs, has accepted this. It is explained in detail in volume two, where we went

through the topic word by word, and with the help of God we proved it, and answered any doubts over whether the verse refers only to the Infallible Imams, for it would be wrong to assume otherwise.

So far, we have not come across anyone who considers Omar or any other such caliph innocent, though all the Sunni scholars try to cover their mistakes, and produce nonsensical verifications for their righteousness. However, despite their efforts over the past fourteen centuries, these scholars have not succeeded in covering up these errors, nor have they been able to present them as innocent and on the right track. On the other hand, the guardianship that the Qur'an introduced for the innocent ones expresses otherwise, and this can be briefly explained. Verses in the Qur'an constantly denote the necessity of obeying what God has sent to His Messenger, such as:

اتَّبِعُوا مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ.

...and it is a reminder unto believers (7:2). They also denote the need to obey whatever the Prophet has legislated by God's permission:

وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ.

...and forbid not that which God and by His messenger have forbidden... (9:30);

مَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا.

...And whatsoever the messenger has given you, take it. And whatsoever he forbids, abstain (from it)... (59:7).

It is because in this verse

آتَاكُمْ.

is against prohibiting

(نَهَاكُمْ)

so it indicates "command" implies "obedience to God and His Messenger" and the necessity of carrying out their commands. It is the same with making judgements or rules, for these must be carried out by the command of God and His Messenger. And we mention in chapter five, "The Heavenly Food," the following verses:

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكُمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ.

...Whoso judges not by that which God has revealed: such are wrongdoers (5:47);

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكُمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ.

...a guidance and an admonition for those who ward off (evil) (5:46);

وَمَن لَّمْ يَحْكُم بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ

...Whoso judges not by that which God has revealed: such are wrongdoers (5:48);

وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا مُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَن يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ وَمَن يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ ضَلَالًا مُّبِينًا

And it is not fitting for a believing man or a believing woman, when God and His messenger have decided any matter (for them), that they should (after that) claim any say in the matter; and whoso is rebellious to God and His messenger, he verily goes astray in manifest error (33:36); and:

وَرَبُّكَ يَخْلُقُ مَا يَشَاءُ وَيَخْتَارُ مَا كَانَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ

And your Lord brings to pass what He wills and chooses: they have never any choice... (28:68).

The word "choice" in this verse refers to either a divine decree or legislation, or both together, and it is emphasized in the Qur'an that it cannot be abrogated, for the commands revealed in the Qur'an remain the same until the Day of Resurrection, as in the following:

وَإِنَّهُ لَكِتَابٌ عَزِيزٌ لَّا يَأْتِيهِ الْبَاطِلُ مِن بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَلَا مِنْ خَلْفِهِ تَنزِيلٌ مِّنْ حَكِيمٍ حَمِيدٍ

Indeed, those who disbelieve in the Reminder when it comes to them (are guilty), for it is indeed a Book of exalted power. Falsehood cannot come at it from before it or from behind it. (It is) a revelation from the Wise, the Owner of Praise. (41:41–42)

The pronoun

إِنَّهُ

refers to the word

ذِكْر

or the Holy Qur'an, just as with

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِالذِّكْرِ لَمَّا جَاءَهُمْ

at the beginning of chapter 41. The meaning of

عَزِيزٌ

is that God is firm and stable, and nothing penetrates Him, for He is His own protector. And the meaning of *ityān bi bāṭil* refers to damaging or destroying the whole or part of something, whether or not it pertains to the rules or moral attitudes of a bygone era. It also refers to damaging sayings and narrations, thus making them ineffective.

The phrase

مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَلَا مِنْ خَلْفِهِ

is a proof that is either at the beginning or in the last part of the verse. It may also refer to duration, as, for example, vanity has nothing to do with God at any time, whether in the past, the present, or the future. It therefore means that no command or anything else can alter the primary meaning of the Qur'an at any time. No rules or anything that has come into existence since then can alter it. Modern science, which has been developing for centuries, cannot alter it, either now or at any time until the Day of Resurrection.

On the whole, the meaning is the same, and there are no contradictions in the meaning of the Qur'an, no false or unnecessary words in it, nor can it be abrogated or changed by any eventuality in the past, present or future until the Day of Resurrection.

Therefore, the verse denotes the absolute impossibility of an abrogation of the commands, and whatever God and His Messenger have assigned as the divine legislation or have commanded the people to do becomes incumbent upon the people, whether they are in positions of authority or are common people.

We can deduce from this that the verse

أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ

is confirmed by the authorities and sets out the decrees in the right way. And in respect of all the divine decrees, the authorities are in the hands of God and His Messenger, so it is equally necessary to follow them. On this basis, to follow them is to follow their commands, which is the policy of Islam. However, God's commands take precedence. Just as with the discretion that one applies in one's personal affairs about whether to do something or not, in both cases the right choice, just like the command, is fixed and unchangeable. For example, we all have the choice of whether or not to eat a pomegranate on a Friday. Therefore, we make a choice: either we eat it or not. But the choice still remains. We can buy something on a particular Thursday or not buy it, but still the possibility remains as it is. We can refer to a judge about a certain case, and receive his verdict concerning our rights, or we might not refer to him and forget about our rights. In either case, it is permissible either to refer to the judge or not.

However, we cannot change a rule or a command. For example, even if there might seem to be some benefit in usury, drinking alcohol, or seizing the rightful property of others, these actions violate God's commands, which are inflexible. The same thing applies to those in authority. By following God's commands and protecting the

rights of the people, public affairs are based on what the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet have established. With the best of intentions for the affairs of the nation, those in authority must protect Islam. They should decide whether war or peace is best for the country, and all other matters, such as trade, agriculture, and social welfare. They must show people what is in their best interests, but they have no right to change God's commands.

In short, those in authority have a Master who deals with the problems of each individual, and it is his responsibility to solve any shortcomings within society.

By protecting God's commands, the Master has the right to alter anything he finds useful for the people. However, if a Master is permitted to change a command of his own desire—to add or remove something regarding the law—no legislation would remain, because it would collapse before long.

This is what happens by saying that the command to enjoy a temporary marriage on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage is incompatible with the rites of the *ḥajj*, and must be removed, or that having a maidservant and enjoying her has nothing to do with the modern world. Or similarly, by saying that modern society does not approve of cutting off the hand of a thief or stoning an adulterer to death, since it is now unsuitable, and although these things were once approved of, they should now be abolished.

Such a case is clearly seen in some of the hadiths, such as when Obay Ibn Kaʿb stood before Omar and said that he had no right to go against the commands of the Qur'an and the Prophet, or change what they say. Omar had nothing to say.

It is mentioned in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

أخرج اسحاق بن راهويه في مسنده واحمد عن الحسن: ان عمر بن الخطاب هم أن ينهى عن متعة الحج فقام اليه ابي بن كعب، فقال: ليس ذلك لك، قد نزل بها كتاب الله واعتمرناها مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم فنزل عمر.[178]

Isḥāq, son of Rāhwayh, states in his *Musnad* that Ahmad Ḥanbal and Hasan have narrated that Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb decided to prohibit enjoyment on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, and on one occasion Ibn Kaʿb stood up and said that it was not his right to do so. God's Book has brought this command to man, and they had made the enjoyment *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* with the Prophet. On hearing what he said, Omar descended from the pulpit.

It is also narrated in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that:

أَخْرَجَ الْبُخَارِيُّ وَمُسْلِمٌ وَالنَّسَائِيُّ عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيَّبِ قَالَ: اخْتَلَفَ عَلِيٌّ وَعُثْمَانُ وَهُمَا بِعُسْفَانَ فِي الْمُتْعَةِ، فَقَالَ عَلِيٌّ: مَا تُرِيدُ إِلَّا أَنْ تَنْهَى عَنْ أَمْرٍ فَعَلَهُ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم، قَالَ: فَلَمَّا رَأَى ذَلِكَ عَلِيٌّ أَهَلَّ بِهِمَا جَمِيعًا.[179]

Bukhārī, Muslim, and Nisā'ī have extracted from Sa'īd Ibn Musayyib that he said that in 'Usfān (between Mecca and Medina), there was a dispute between Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Othmān concerning enjoyment on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. Ali stated: "You do nothing but prohibit people from doing what the Prophet did!" However, when Ali saw that Othmān persisted, he put on the pilgrim's garb and began chanting: "Here I am, O God," with the intention of making the enjoyment *ḥajj* (the *ḥajj* and *'umra* together).

Omar's Decision over the Ruling of the Prophet Is Incorrect

Through what has been said so far, it becomes clear that Omar's changes to the Prophet's legislation were incorrect. Even though he was chosen by the people, his claim is still unacceptable.

Omar prohibited temporary marriage not only for the *ḥajj*, but generally, and anyone doing so would be given lashes. It would be considered an act of adultery and punishable as such. He brought in other changes to the divine legislation, which are all recorded in the books of the Shi'a and the Sunnis.

Later, Othmān also took charge on the basis of Omar and Abū Bakr. At the Assembly of the Council, after the three days appointed by Omar, they did not get the result they expected, and Abd al-Raḥmān 'Auf told the caliph: "I swear allegiance to your caliphate if you govern according to the Book of God, the tradition of the Prophet, and the example of the two Shaykhs." He answered: "I promise only to carry out the commands of the Book of God and the traditions of His Messenger." Othmān accepted him, and he swore his allegiance.[180]

We therefore see that Othmān respected Omar and Abū Bakr, and blindly governed by continuing their mistakes and approving of their false commands. And even Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abī Sufyān and the other Omayyad caliphs respected the two Shaykhs, though there was nothing logically correct in their handling of the nation.

We act according to the Book of God and the statements of the Messenger because we consider them to be right and free from error, for what else would make us do so? Then, keeping to ourselves, we

can enjoy freedom in our marriages and society until the Day of Judgement.

Omar was not infallible, and there is no sanction for his action in the Book of God or the traditions of the Prophet, so by whose authority did he do so? Apart from his wrong action, why would one carry out his unreasonable demands until the Day of Resurrection? Why should we respect his commands and prohibitions? Can one carry out his commands along with those of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet?

Even if Omar had a religious government within a nation based on the truth, and his commands had to be fulfilled at the time, there is no need for us to do so, generation after generation. This is a big problem that our Sunni brothers have been trapped in, and no one knows why they continue in such manifest error. Why do they make their *ḥajj* pilgrimage in the way they do? If they seek the truth, and make the *ḥajj* according to God's command and the traditions of the Prophet, this needs some kind of explanation. But if it is for the satisfaction of Omar and the other caliphs, they should know that it is completely wrong, and take heed of the following:

وَيَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يَكْفُرُونَ بِشِرْكِكُمْ

...and on the Day of Resurrection they will disown association with you... (35:14).

The Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet are the two main sources of guidance in the religion, but they have been abrogated by Omar and the two Shaykhs, and any such manipulation weakens them.

The difference between the Shi'a and the Sunnis—

هَدَاهُمُ اللهُ إِلَى الصِّرَاطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ وَالنَّهْجِ الْقَوِيمِ

—is that we consider the Qur'an, the words of the Prophet, and the Infallible Imams to be foundations of the religion, but they add the words of the Shaykhs and inevitably practice such things.

Here we should mention an important point, which is that they consider Ali the fourth caliph, and the four together are known as "the rightly guided caliphs." To this we ask: Why take notice of three of them, yet forget the conduct of Ali? Was he not a rightful caliph by your own election? So why do you not follow him? In your authentic commentaries and well-known books it is written that Ali had permitted temporary marriage, openly announcing it to be lawful for those on the *ḥajj*. So why do you not consider this tradition? Even if

you follow Omar and Abū Bakr, you should know that the foundations of Islam are still the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, which form the law of the Household. Now is the time for you, our Sunni brothers, to come to your senses and refer attentively to the history of Islam, even as it is in your own books. Then, by distinguishing right from wrong, you will find your way and practice it.

We should now mention two stories, the first of which is in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*. Bukhārī and Muslim have related that Abū Jamra said:

> I asked Ibn Abbās about temporary marriage, and he encouraged me to practice it. Then I asked him what to sacrifice, and he told me to sacrifice a sheep, a cow, or a camel, or to join someone else with their sacrifice. However, there were some people on the *ḥajj* who disapproved of temporary marriage. Then, when I participated in the enjoyment, I fell asleep, and I dreamt that a man was calling:
>
> حَجٌّ مَبْرُورٌ وَمُتْعَةٌ مُتَقَبَّلَة
>
> "The *ḥajj* is good, and temporary marriage is admissible." I went to Ibn Abbās and told him about my dream, and he said:
>
> اللهُ أَكْبَرُ، سُنَّةُ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ (وَآلِهِ) وَسَلَّمَ.[181]

The other story is from Rāqib Iṣfahānī. In his *Muḥāḍirāt*, he tells how Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham asked a Shaykh in Basra: "Whom have you followed concerning temporary marriage?" The Shaykh answered: "I have followed Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb." Yaḥyā then asked: "How can that be true when we see that Omar is the most strict in opposing temporary marriage?" The Shaykh answered:

نَعَمْ: صَحَّ الْحَدِيثُ عَنْهُ أَنَّهُ صَعِدَ الْمِنْبَرَ فَقَالَ: يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ مُتْعَتَانِ أَحَلَّهُمَا اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ لَكُمْ، وَأَنَا أُحَرِّمُهُمَا عَلَيْكُمْ وَأُعَاقِبُ عَلَيْهِمَا. فَقَبِلْنَا شَهَادَتَهُ، وَلَمْ نَقْبَلْ تَحْرِيمَه.[182]

Yes, the correct hadith was related by Omar, but then he climbed the pulpit and said: "O people! There were two kinds of marriage [marrying a woman in the usual way and temporary marriage] that God and His Messenger made lawful for you. But I prohibit one, and whoever pursues such a marriage, I will punish him." We accepted his word that God and His Messenger had permitted it, but we did not mind that he was prohibiting it for us.

Lessons Eighty-Three to Ninety

Commentary on the Verse

وَإِذْ بَوَّأْنَا لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ مَكَانَ الْبَيْتِ

LESSONS EIGHTY-THREE TO NINETY

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may God's curse be upon his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection. And there is no power or strength except for the Most High and Glorious God.

God, the Wise, has stated in His Noble Book:

وَإِذْ بَوَّأْنَا لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ مَكَانَ الْبَيْتِ أَنْ لَا تُشْرِكْ بِي شَيْئًا وَطَهِّرْ بَيْتِيَ لِلطَّائِفِينَ وَالْقَائِمِينَ وَالرُّكَّعِ السُّجُودِ وَأَذِّنْ فِي النَّاسِ بِالْحَجِّ يَأْتُوكَ رِجَالًا وَعَلَىٰ كُلِّ ضَامِرٍ يَأْتِينَ مِنْ كُلِّ فَجٍّ عَمِيقٍ لِيَشْهَدُوا مَنَافِعَ لَهُمْ وَيَذْكُرُوا اسْمَ اللَّهِ فِي أَيَّامٍ مَعْلُومَاتٍ عَلَىٰ مَا رَزَقَهُمْ مِنْ بَهِيمَةِ الْأَنْعَامِ فَكُلُوا مِنْهَا وَأَطْعِمُوا الْبَائِسَ الْفَقِيرَ ثُمَّ لْيَقْضُوا تَفَثَهُمْ وَلْيُوفُوا نُذُورَهُمْ وَلْيَطَّوَّفُوا بِالْبَيْتِ الْعَتِيقِ.

ذَٰلِكَ وَمَنْ يُعَظِّمْ حُرُمَاتِ اللَّهِ فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَهُ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِ وَأُحِلَّتْ لَكُمُ الْأَنْعَامُ إِلَّا مَا يُتْلَىٰ عَلَيْكُمْ فَاجْتَنِبُوا الرِّجْسَ مِنَ الْأَوْثَانِ وَاجْتَنِبُوا قَوْلَ الزُّورِ.

And (remember) when We prepared for Abraham the place of the (holy) House, saying: Associate not anything with Me, and purify My House for those who make the round (thereof) and those who stand and those who bow and make prostration. And proclaim to mankind the pilgrimage. They will come to you on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every deep ravine; that they may witness things that are of benefit to them, and mention the name of God on appointed days over the (beasts of) cattle that He has bestowed upon them. Then eat thereof and feed therewith the poor unfortunate. Then let them make an end of their unkemptness and fulfil their vows, and go around the Ancient House. That (is the command); and whoso magnifies the sacred things of God, it will be well for him in the sight of his Lord. The cattle are lawful to you (for food), save that which has been told you. So shun the filth of idols, and shun lying speech (22:26–30).

The Prophet Departing from Mecca for ʿArafāt

After making the circumambulations and the running, and then announcing the ruling on *ḥajj* for those who had no sacrificial animals with them, the Prophet and some of his family, including Fāṭimah,

her two small children (Hasan and Husayn), Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm (who were less than seven and eight years old at the time), and Muḥsin (who was yet to be born), went to the east of Mecca to Abṭaḥ. They wanted to stay there until the right time for the *ḥajj*.

When they arrived at Mecca on Sunday, the fourth of Dhi al-Ḥajja, they stayed for four nights, and during that time[183] was *yaum al-zīna* (the Day of Decoration), when they recited sermons and decorated the camels they had taken with them to sacrifice. Then, on the eighth day, which was the Day of Moistening, they recited sermons[184] and taught the people how to perform the rites at Mecca.[185] Then they set out for Minā at about the time the sun was going down. They told the people to wear the pilgrimage garb and to continue moving forward chanting "Here I am, O God."[186]

Apart from the Prophet, Ali, and those with sacrificial animals, all the other pilgrims who were free from the *ḥajj* restrictions wore the pilgrimage garb from the fourth day to the eighth day (the Day of Moistening), and followed on to Minā at the command of the Prophet.

The Prophet arrived at Minā and made the noon, late afternoon, sunset, and late evening prayers there, and stayed at Minā until morning. It was the ninth day, the Day of ᶜArafāt, and he made the dawn prayer at Minā and then left for ᶜArafāt, either before sunrise or before sunset.

However, there is little question that the Prophet made the five daily prayers at Minā. Even those who have stipulated that the Prophet left Minā after the sun went down have said that he did the noon prayer at Minā.[187]

On this basis, and according to what the Household have related, it is strictly recommended that the pilgrims should not go directly from Mecca to ᶜArafāt, and should pass the evening before ᶜArafa at Minā, setting out for ᶜArafāt early the next morning.

At sunrise on the morning of ᶜArafa, the Prophet set out for ᶜArafāt, and he ordered his tent to be set up at Namīra.[188]

As the Quraysh were considered residents within the sacred precinct, they did not leave there during the *ḥajj* season, and made their halt at Mashᶜar. They said that the halt at ᶜArafāt, which is on the outskirts of the sacred precinct, was for those other than the Quraysh, and accordingly, when the Prophet left Minā, they believed that he, being of the Quraysh, would make his halt at Mashᶜar. However, they were mistaken, for he went directly from Minā to ᶜArafāt and immediately entered his tent made of the hair of Namīra that was set up nearby.[189] This accorded with the verse of the Qurᶜan that says:

ثُمَّ أَفِيضُوا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَفَاضَ النَّاسُ وَاسْتَغْفِرُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ.[190]

Then hasten onward from the place whence the multitude hastens onward, and ask forgiveness of God. Indeed, God is Forgiving, Merciful (2:199).

They halted at ʿArafāt and from there they went to the Holy House and on to Minā to fulfil the *ḥajj*.

The Sermon of the Prophet at ʿArafāt

The Prophet was in his tent until sunset, and then asked for his camel, Qaṣwāʾ.[191] He mounted and moved forward to the middle of the territory of ʿArafāt, and there addressed the following sermon to the people:

ان دماءكم واموالكم حرام عليكم، كحرمة يومكم هذا، فى شهركم هذا، فى بلدكم هذا، الا كل شىء من امر الجاهلية موضوع تحت قدمى، ودماء الجاهلية موضوعة، وان اول دم اضع من دمائنا دم ابن ربيعة بن الحارث ـ وكان مسترضعا فى بنى سعد فقتله هذيل ـ

وربا الجاهلية موضوع، واول ربا اضع ربانا ربا العباس بن عبد المطلب فانه موضوع كله.[192] واتقوا الله فى النساء فانكم اخذتموهن بامانة الله واستحللتم فروجهن بكلمة الله، ولكم عليهن ان لا يوطئن فرشكم احدا تكرهونه، فان فعلن ذلك فاضربوهن ضربا غير مبرح، ولهن عليكم رزقهن وكسوتهن بالمعروف.

وقد تركت فيكم ما لن تضلوا بعدى ان اعتصمتم به: كتاب الله![193]

وانتم تسألون عنى فما انتم قائلون؟!

قالوا: نشهد انك قد بلغت واديت ونصحت!

فقال باصبعه السبابة، يرفعها الى السماء وينكتها على الناس: اللهم اشهد! اللهم اشهد! اللهم اشهد! ثلاث مرات.[194]

As today, the Day of ʿArafa, is important, and this month of Dhi al-Ḥijja is highly regarded, as well as this town of Mecca, so it is important for you not to shed blood, but your property is lawful for you. Shedding the blood of others and usurping their property are unlawful. Be aware that I have overlooked all the false customs and bloodshed of the Age of Ignorance, and there is to be no retaliation. Amongst the blood of our people shed in the past was that of the son of Rabīʿat Ibn Abd al-Muṭṭalib,

who had gone to the Banī Saʿd to ask for a nurse. But the Tribe of Hudhayl killed him [and as he was not a Muslim, he could not receive blood money, even though he was a cousin of the Prophet]. And the various forms of usury that used to be the custom in the Age of Ignorance I overlook, the first of which is that of my uncle, Abbās Ibn Muṭṭalib, who had contrived to receive money from the poor. I now overlook all such things.

O people! Fear God concerning the rights of women, and look after them properly, for you have married them as a trustee of God, and have accepted marriage to them in His name.

And their responsibly to you is not to allow anything unknown to you to enter your resting place, but if they do so, beat them, but not in a way that hurts or injures them.[195] And it is their right that you provide for their sustenance by feeding and clothing them.

I have left something with you, and if you cling to it, you will not go astray, and that is the Book of God. Then know that if you are questioned concerning what I have said to you, what is your answer?

Those listening said:

We bear witness that you have preached to us the commands of God, done your duty, and fulfilled your task. You guided the nation to the straight path with your summoning.

Then the Prophet raised his hand, and, pointing to the people with his index finger, three times said: "I call You to witness [that I said what I had to say]."

ʿAmr Ibn Khārija recalled:

ʿAttāb Ibn Osayd sent me to the Prophet with a question regarding the Day of ʿArafa. At the time, the Prophet had made a halt at ʿArafāt. I delivered the message and stood waiting close by the camel—so close that I felt the camel's saliva drip from its mouth onto my head. Then I heard the Prophet slowly say:

ایها الناس، ان الله ادی الی کل ذی حق حقه، و انه لا یجوز وصیة لوارث، والولد للفراش، و للعاهر الحجر، و من ادعی الی غیر ابیه، او تولی غیر موالیه فعلیه لعنة الله والملائکة والناس اجمعین، لا یقبل الله له صرفا ولا عدلا.[196]

O people! God has assigned rights to every just person, and it is not permissible for someone to choose an heir [if he already has heirs to

his property].[197] A child born to a married woman would become an heir and have a right to his father's share; but an adulterer has no share in the child, and she must receive a harsh sentence.

The curses of God and all the angels are upon whoever considers himself as not from his father, and every slave who believes he is the slave of anyone other than his master. God never accepts his repentance.

The Prophet began the sermon, and Rabīʿat Ibn Omayyad Ibn Khalaf, who was known as a good orator, repeated it all aloud to the people gathered around, as the Prophet had instructed him.[198]

After the sermon, Bilāl made the call and established the prayer, and the Prophet then made the midday prayer. Then, without pausing, Bilāl established the prayer again, and the Prophet made the late afternoon prayer.

An Investigation into the Midday Prayer That Was Made at ʿArafāt

It seems evident that the Prophet delivered his sermon around noon, and then made the noon and late afternoon prayers together. So the question is whether his noon prayer of two turns, instead of four, is to be considered the Friday Prayer. Or was it the noon prayer, not the Friday prayer, although it was preceded by a sermon? We might say that it was simply a Friday, and the Prophet performed the noon and the late afternoon prayers together, having delivered a sermon beforehand. Or we may assume that it was the Friday prayer, especially if we refer to the hadith of the father of Imam Ṣādiq which was quoted by Jābir at the Farewell Pilgrimage, which says that the Prophet reached the Station of ʿArafāt and delivered the first sermon, but that soon after, Bilāl began the call to prayer, and subsequently the Prophet began the second sermon. In this way, Bilāl finished the call to prayer and the Prophet finished his sermon. So it may be that Bilāl made the call to prayer and the Prophet said the noon prayer, and again Bilāl made the call to prayer and the Prophet said the late afternoon prayer.[199] So, by delivering two sermons, especially as the sun was going down, and making the noon and the late afternoon prayers together, it is presumed to be the Friday prayer. Also, the Prophet qualified as a traveler, and the Friday prayer is not incumbent upon a traveler, and the second sermon was a preparation for the joining of the noon and late afternoon prayers. However, the two sermons by the Prophet are not confirmed, especially as he made the noon prayer silently. It is understood from a discussion between

Mālik and Abū Yūsuf in the presence of Hārūn al-Rashīd, that he prayed the noon prayer like the Friday prayer.[200]

After finishing the prayer, the Prophet mounted his camel, and a little later arrived at one of the stations where he faced the *qiblah*, praying and supplicating until sunset. It is in this hadith that he said:

> On the Day of ᶜArafa, the most virtuous supplication that all the messengers and I have performed is this:
>
> لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له، له الملك وله الحمد، وهو على كل شيء قدير.
>
> "There is no god but God, the One, and He has no partner. All sovereignty and praise are His only, and He has power over all things."

As mentioned, the Prophet supplicated until sunset on that particular occasion.

Some people came to the Prophet from Najd to learn the rites of the *ḥajj*, so he told the herald to proclaim:

الحج عرفه، من جاء ليلة جمع ـ اى المزدلفة ـ قبل طلوع الفجر فقد ادرك الحج.

"The *ḥajj* pilgrimage includes going to the Station of ᶜArafāt, and he who enters Mashᶜar on the night of the sacrifice before dawn and is at the Station of Muzdalifa has comprehended the *ḥajj*."[201]

The Prophet Going from ᶜArafāt to Muzdalifa and Minā

The Prophet mounted his camel ᶜAḍbā at sunset, and he let Osāmat Ibn Zayd sit behind him as they moved towards Muzdalifa. On the way he commanded the people traveling with him to keep quiet. Meanwhile they reached Shiᶜb Abtar and dismounted, and they rested for a short while and then performed their ablutions.[202]

Soon after, they set out for Muzdalifa and arrived there after a short ride. They prayed both the sunset and the late evening prayers together, with a single call to prayer and establishing the prayer twice.[203] They then lay down on the ground to rest, and let the families and the infirm start out for Minā after midnight.

Ibn Abbās said: "The Prophet entrusted me to take his family to Minā after midnight. He told me to let them do the stoning at Jamarah Aqaba unless the sun had risen."

At dawn, while it was still dark, the Prophet prayed the dawn prayer with the people at Muzdalifa, and then went to the sacred monument. There, while still on their camels, they turned towards

the direction of prayer and mentioned God's Greatness and Majesty, supplicating until the sun shone clear and bright in the sky.[204]

The Prophet rode towards Minā with Faḍl Ibn Abbās following behind him. When they arrived at the desert of Muḥassir, they took the road to Jamarah Aqaba, where they arrived shortly after. The Prophet threw seven pebbles that ᶜAbdullah Ibn Abbās had gathered for him at Jamarah Aqaba, and each time he threw a pebble, he said: "God is Most Great."

In Muslim's *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*,[205] Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥaṣīn quotes his grandmother, Umm al-Ḥaṣīn, and some other chains from Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdullah, saying:

رايت رسول الله يرمى لجمرة على راحلته يوم النحر ويقول: لتاخذوا مناسككم فانى لا ادرى لعلى لا احج بعد حجتى هذه.

"I saw the Prophet mount his camel on the day of sacrifice and throwing pebbles at the Jamarah, saying: 'You must learn the rites from me, because I do not know whether or not I will make another *ḥajj* pilgrimage.'"

The Famous Sermon by the Prophet at Minā

Then, after throwing the pebbles, the Prophet mounted his camel Shahbāʾī[206] and delivered a long sermon, with some people sitting and others standing to listen to him.[207]

It was there that Ali repeated it in a loud voice to the people.[208]

There follows the same sermon from *Tārīkh of Yaᶜqūbī*:

نضر الله وجه عبد سمع مقالتى فوعاها وحفظها ثم بلغها من لم يسمعها، فرب حامل فقه غير فقيه، و رب حامل فقه الى من هو افقه منه.

ثلاث لا يغل عليهن قلب امرىء مسلم: اخلاص العمل لله، والنصحة لائمة الحق، واللزوم لجماعة المؤمنين، فان دعوتهم محيطة من ورائهم.[209]

God illuminates the faces of those who listen to my words and remember them, and then tell those who have not heard them. How many narrators and bearers of knowledge and jurisprudence teach only the learned!

There are three things that a Muslim never begrudges telling others: to purify one's actions for God alone, to advise the rightful rulers and commanders, and to befriend one's believing brothers, for these things are not only for them, but for many in the next generations.

He then said:

O Rabīʿat [Rabīʿat Ibn Omayyad Ibn Khalaf], say: "'O people! The Prophet states (the following)":

لعلكم لا تلقونني على مثل حالي هذه وعليكم هذا، هل تدرون اي بلد هذا؟ وهل تدرون اي شهر هذا؟ وهل تدرون اي يوم هذا؟!

فقال الناس: نعم، هذا البلد الحرام والشهر الحرام واليوم الحرام!

قال: فان الله حرم عليكم دماءكم واموالكم كحرمة بلدكم هذا، وكحرمة شهركم هذا وكحرمة يومكم هذا، الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم، قال: اللهم اشهد!

Perhaps you will never meet me as I am with you now. Do you know what town this is? And do you know what month this is? And do you know what day today is?

The people replied:

Yes, we know. This is the most respected month. It is the month of prohibition and is highly regarded. And today is likewise a respected day of prohibition.

The Prophet then said: "Thus God values your blood and property, and He does the same for this town, and great reverence is held for this month and this day. Now, have I delivered my proclamation?"

They all replied: "Yes, you have." The Prophet then implored: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" and then said:

ثم قال: واتقوا الله ولا تبخسوا الناس اشياءهم ولا تعثوا في الارض مفسدين. فمن كانت عنده امانة فليؤدها!!

ثم قال: الناس في الاسلام سواء، الناس طف الصاع لادم وحوآء، لا فضل عربي على عجمي، ولا عجمي على عربي الا بتقوى الله! الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم، قال: اللهم اشهد

So fear God. Do not underestimate the rights of the people, and do not spread corruption and evil in the land. Let anyone who has the property of another return it to its rightful owner.

Afterwards he said: "People are considered equal in Islam. All people without exception are from Adam and Eve. No Arab has priority over the non-Arab, except through his piety and truthfulness towards God. Now, have I fulfilled my proclamation to you?"

They all said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" He then said:

ثم قال: كل دم في الجاهلية موضوع تحت قدمي، وأول دم أضعه، دم آدم بن ربيعة بن الحارث بن عبد المطلب ـ وكان آدم بن ربيعة مسترضعا في هذيل فقتله بنو سعد بن بكر، وقيل في بني ليث فقتله هذيل ـ ألا هل بلغت؟

قالوا: نعم، قال: اللهم اشهد

I have trodden down all the hostility and bloodshed that happened during the Age of Ignorance, and there is to be no retaliation. The first shedding of blood that I am doing away with is that of ᶜĀdam Ibn Rabīᶜa, the son of Hārith Ibn Abd al-Muṭṭalib, a grandson of my own uncle. He had gone to the Tribe of Hudhayl to ask for a nurse, but the Banī Saᶜd Ibn Bakr killed him for doing so. Yes, the Tribe of Hudhayl killed him. Now, have I fulfilled my proclamation to you?

They all said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" Then he said:

ثم قال: وكل ربا كان في الجاهلية موضوع تحت قدمي، وأول ربا أضعه ربا العباس بن عبد المطلب ألا هل بلغت؟

قالوا: نعم، قال: اللهم اشهد

"I have trodden down all the benefit by usury that happened during the Age of Ignorance, and the first that I am doing away with was done by my uncle, Abbās Ibn Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Now, have I fulfilled my proclamation and delivered to you the command of God?"

They all said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet cried: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" He continued:

ثم قال: يا ايها الناس انما النسيء زيادة في الكفر يضل به الذين كفروا يحلونه عاما ويحرمونه عاما ليواطئوا عدة ما حرم الله. الا وان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق الله السموات والارض، وان عدة الشهور عند الله اثنا عشر شهرا في كتاب الله منها اربعة حرم: رجب الذي بين جمادى وشعبان، يدعونه مضر، وثلاثة متوالية: ذو القعدة وذو الحجة والمحرم. الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم، قال: اللهم اشهد.

O people! Indeed, postponing [one's religious duties from one day to the next] is an excess of blasphemy, and so many people become non-believers in this way and go astray. A month has been considered lawful in one year and unlawful in another, and this went on until the unlawful months in a year were adjusted. Know that the time has circled and reached its primary point at the balance whereby God created the heavens and the earth.

The number of months with God is twelve, as it is in His Book. And four months of the twelve are respected months, known as the prohibited months. One of them is Rajab, which is between Jumādi and Shaʿbān, and is known as Muḍar. The other three are Dhu al-Qaʿda, Dhu al-Ḥajja, and Muḥarram. Now, be aware, have I fulfilled my proclamation on this matter?

They all said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" He went on:

ثم قال: اوصيكم بالنساء خيرا، فانما هن عوان عندكم، لا يملكن لانفسهن شيئا، وانما اخذتموهن بامانة الله، واستحللتم فروجهن بكتاب الله، ولكم عليهن حق، ولهن عليكم حق كسوتهن ورزقهن بالمعروف، ولكم عليهن الا يوطئن فراشكم احدا، ولا يأذن في بيوتكم الا بعلمكم واذنكم، فان فعلن شيئا من ذلك فاهجروهن في المضاجع واضربوهن ضربا غير مبرح! الا هل بلغت؟

قالوا: نعم، قال: اللهم اشهد.

I enjoin you to protect women and care for them in the best way, because they bear too much difficulty under your control. They have nothing of their own and you have taken them as the trust of God, making them lawful for you with the permission of God and His Book. You are responsible for their rights, and your duty towards them is to feed them,

clothe them in the proper way, and provide for them in a pleasant manner. And it is your responsibility if they invite strangers into their privacy. Since they are living with you, they must not interfere in your business except with your permission.

If they have a tendency to do forbidden things, then do not sleep in their bedrooms, and punish them, but in a way that does not harm or injure them. Now, attend! Did I perform my mission?

They all said: "Yes, you did," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" Then he said:

ثم قال: فاوصيكم بمن ملكت ايمانكم فاطعموهم مما تاكلون والبسوهم مما تلبسون، وان اذنبوا فكلوا عقوباتهم الى شراركم الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم! قال: اللهم اشهد

"Following this instruction concerning women, I instruct you about your male and female slaves. Whatever you have, let them have the same, and whatever you wear, let them wear also. If they commit a crime, you must not punish them yourselves, but let them be judged by the arbitrators among you. Now, have I performed my mission?"

They answered: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" Then he stated:

ثم قال: ان المسلم اخو المسلم لا يغشه ولا يخونه ولا يغتابه، ولا يحل له دمه ولا شيء من ماله الا بطيبة نفسه الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم! قال: اللهم اشهد

"Every Muslim is a brother to another Muslim, so he never acts deceitfully towards him, nor does he betray him or speak ill of him in his absence. He does not cause his heart to bleed, and does not devour his property unless by his permission. Now be aware, and see if I have performed my mission!"

The people said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" Then he said:

ثم قال: ان الشيطان قد يئس ان يعبد بعد اليوم، ولكن يطاع فيما سوى ذلك من اعمالكم التي تحتقرون، فقد رضي به الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم! قال: اللهم اشهد

"Indeed, from now on, Satan has lost hope of being worshiped and praised, but he will govern and humiliate those of you who pursue illicit matters, for he is satisfied by such things. Now be aware, and see if I have performed my mission!"

They said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" He continued:

ثم قال: اعدى الاعداء على الله قاتل غير قاتله، وضارب غير ضاربه، ومن كفر نعمة مواليه فقد كفر بما انزل الله على محمد، ومن انتمى الى غير ابيه فعليه لعنة الله والملائكة والناس اجمعين الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم! قال: اللهم اشهد!

The worst of God's enemies is he who murders someone other than him who attempts to kill him, or strikes another who has not struck him. The one who is guilty of ingratitude towards his master or guardian is also the enemy of God, for he has indeed disbelieved in what has been sent down in the Book. And the one who takes another instead of his father has the curse of God; the angels and all the people rest upon him. Now, be aware, have I fulfilled my proclamation on this matter?

They all said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" Then he said:

ثم قال: الا انى انما امرت ان اقاتل الناس حتى يقولوا: لا اله الا الله وانى رسول الله، واذا قالوا، عصموا منى دماءهم واموالهم الا بحق وحسابهم على الله الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم. قال: اللهم اشهد!

Let it be known that I have been appointed by God to fight the people until they confess

لا اله الا الله، ومحمد رسول الله

and when they bear to witness to this, their blood and property are protected in the right way. This is quite manifest, and their accounts rest with God. Now, see if I have performed my mission!

All of them said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" He continued:

ثم قال: لا ترجعوا بعدی کفارا مضلین یملك بعضکم رقاب بعض. انی قد خلفت فیکم ما ان تمسکتم به لن تضلوا: کتاب الله وعترتی اهل بیتی.

الا هل بلغت؟!

قالوا: نعم، قال: اللهم اشهد

Do not turn to disbelief after my demise, for you could become the most misled among the creatures of God, and never should one of you dominate another, and appropriate what is rightfully theirs. I leave you with two things, and if you take hold of them, you will never go astray. One is God's Book and the other is my Household, who are my family. Now be aware, and see if I have performed my mission!

They said: "Yes, you have," and the Prophet said: "O my Creator, be witness to this!" Finally, the Prophet stated:

ثم قال: انکم مسؤولون، فلیبلغ الشاهد منکم الغائب.[210]

"You are indeed responsible and will be questioned, so let those who are present here convey my message to those who are absent."

The extracts from this splendid sermon that the Prophet delivered at Minā are from *Tārikh Yaʿqūbī*, which has the complete text. There are different parts of the same sermon in various different hadiths, which we have arranged separately at the end of this book.

It is an eloquent and explicit sermon that covers important aspects of policy, rulings, moral instructions, and jurisprudence. It could be considered to be like the verses of the Qurʾan in terms of firm resolve. It would be good if a detailed explanation were written about it in order to show actual proofs for each item mentioned in it from the Qurʾan, the sayings of the Immaculate Imams, and the hadiths. However, we intend to clarify just a small part of it, however inadequate our attempt may be. With what knowledge we have, we rely on God's generosity to help us fulfil our task.

The part we wish to explain is

یاایها الناس انما النسیء زیادة فی الکفر

up to the end of the sermon. The heart of the explanation of what the Prophet said is the subject of two verses in the Qurʾan:

ان عدة الشهور عند الله اثنا عشر شهرا فی کتاب الله یوم خلق السموات والارض منها اربعة حرم ذلك الدین القیم فلا تظلموا فیهن انفسکم وقاتلوا المشرکین کافة کما یقاتلونکم کافة واعلموا ان الله

مع المتقين انما النسيء زيادة في الكفر يضل به الذين كفروا يحلونه عاما ويحرمونه عاما ليواطئوا عدة ما حرم الله فيحلوا ما حرم الله زين لهم سوء اعمالهم والله لا يهدي القوم الكافرين.

Indeed, the number of the months with God is twelve months by God's ordinance in the day that He created the heavens and the earth. Four of them are sacred: that is the right religion. So do not wrong yourselves in them. And fight all of the idolaters as they fight all of you. And know that God is with the righteous (who fear Him). Postponement (of a sacred month) is only an excess of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled; they allow it one year and forbid it another year, that they may make up the number of the months which God has hallowed, so that they allow that which God has forbidden. The evil of their deeds seems pleasing to them. But God guides not those who disbelieve (9:36–37).

Comments on the Verse about the Replacement of Months

With reference to these verses, the Prophet considered it unlawful to cast months to oblivion, and he explained that the activities assigned for each particular month should be duly performed at that time. The word

نسی[211]

is an infinitive, like

نذیر

and

نکیر

from the article

نسا الشيء ينسؤه نسا ومنساة ونسيئا: اذا اخره تاخيرا

and means "he cast it to oblivion."

Shaykh Ṭabarsī says that since the Arabs maintained the creed of the Prophets Abraham and Ishmael, they considered the four months of Rajab, Dhu al-Qaʿda, Dhi al-Ḥajja, and Muḥarram as special and held them in high regard, and considered it unlawful to fight during those months. However, as they were fighters by nature and prone to hostility, it was difficult for them to wait three consecutive months without fighting and looting. Therefore, they transferred their reverence for Muḥarram to the month of Ṣafar; that is, instead of Muḥarram, they took Ṣafar as the unlawful month, and made the month of Muḥarram lawful. They did this for a period of time, and then later

they replaced these months and honored Muḥarram. They would also do the same with the month of Dhi al-Ḥijja, and made decisions accordingly.

Farrāʾ says that the one who was responsible for displacing the months and "casting them to oblivion" was a man from the Tribe of Kinānah known as Nuʿaym Ibn Thaʿlaba. He was the chief during the *ḥajj* season and used to say that he was a man whom no other man ever blamed, that he was quite competent, and that whatever he commanded never failed.

In the *ḥajj* season, people would say to him: "You are quite right, for you have delayed a month for us, and changed the distinction of Muḥarram and put the month of Ṣafar in its place." They wanted him to make Muḥarram lawful for them, and he did as they desired.

When Islam appeared, a man called Junādat Ibn ʿAuf Ibn Omayyad Kinānī was in charge of the *ḥajj* season, and Ibn Abbās said that a man called ʿAmr Ibn Laḥya Ibn Qumaʾat Ibn Khindīf instigated the casting of months to oblivion. However, Abū Muslim Ibn Aslam says that it was a man from the tribe of Banī Kināna called Qalāmmas, and that he used to say: "This year I have cast the month of Muḥarram into oblivion, so this year we have two months of Ṣafar." When the next year arrived, he claimed: "Now we are repaying the reverence for the last year's Muḥarram, and we are taking these two months as Muḥarram." In this regard the poet Kinānī said:

ومنا ناسیء الشهر القلمس

"And Qalāmmas, who has the authority to cast months to oblivion, is from our tribe."

And the poet Kumayt said:

و نحن النّاسِئون على معد شهور الحِلّ نجعلها حراما.

"We are of those among the tribe of Maʿd who replace the months and cast them to oblivion."

Mujāhid stated:

> The disbelievers used to go on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage two times in succession in the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja, and then two more times in the month of Muḥarram, and also in the month of Ṣafar and other months of the year, in each of which they would make the *ḥajj* twice. This went on until the Farewell Pilgrimage, which took place in the month of Dhu al-Qaʿda. The Prophet went on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage the next year. This was the Farewell *Ḥajj*, and it accorded with the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja. The Prophet consequently stated in his sermon:

الا وان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق الله السموات والارض، السنة اثنا عشر شهرا منها اربعة حرم، ثلاثة متواليات: ذو القعدة وذو الحجة والمحرم ورجب مضر الذى بين جمادى و شعبان.

> Now be aware that the circulation of time has reached the same point as when God created the heavens and the earth in the beginning. A year consists of twelve months, and four of them are considered forbidden. Three of them are successive: Dhu al-Qaʿda, Dhi al-Ḥajja, and Muḥarram; and then there is the month of Rajab, which is between Jamādī and Shaʿbān.

By saying this, the Prophet wanted the people to understand that the forbidden months had reached their proper times. The *ḥajj* season had returned to the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja, and delaying the *ḥajj* was then dismissed.[212]

A Commentary on the Statement of the Assembly and Abū al-Suʿūd Concerning the Verse That Mentions the Replacement of Months

In Abū al-Suʿūd's commentary, after explaining the forbidden months and what the Prophet said about this during the Farewell Pilgrimage, that is,

ان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق السموات والارض.

and that the months are twelve, he says:

> This means that because of the prohibition and the respect for the months, they have returned to their correct positions as they were in the beginning. The *ḥajj* pilgrimage, too, returned to the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja, after being cast into oblivion during the Age of Ignorance. Therefore, the Farewell Pilgrimage coincided with the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja. Before the *ḥajj* made by the Prophet was that of Abū Bakr, which took place in the month of Dhu al-Qaʿda.[213]

Almost all the other commentaries are similar to those we saw in the *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* and Abū al-Suʿūd's commentary. What is understood from them all is that the Arabs of the Age of Ignorance made two adjustments to the months: one was to move the forbidden months from their proper times, such as with Muḥarram and Ṣafar, and the other concerned the *ḥajj*, which was why the *ḥajj* passed through the other months until it came back to its original place. These two changes they called "casting into oblivion" or "delaying."

Good evidence for these alterations is provided in the commentary in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, where Ibn Abī Hātam and Abū al-Shaykh have quoted Ibn Omar as saying:

وقف رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم بالعقبة، فقال: إن النسي ء من الشيطان زيادة في الكفر، يضل به الذين كفروا، يحلونه عاما ويحرمونه عاما، ويحرمون صفر عاما ويستحلون المحرم و هو النسيء.[214]

The Prophet stopped at Aqaba in Minā and said:

> In fact, the casting to oblivion is an affair of Satan and a cause of blasphemy, and the unbelievers go astray by this means. They considered the prohibited months to be lawful in one year, and then the next year they regarded them as unlawful. They made the month of Ṣafar prohibited, but the month of Muḥarram lawful, and this is the meaning of casting to oblivion.

Also in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Mundhar, Ibn Abī Hātam, and Ibn Mardawayh heard from Ibn Abbās that:

كان جنادة بن عوف الكناني يوفي الموسم كل عام، وكان يكنى اباثمامة، فينادي: الا ان اباثمامة لا يخاف ولا يعاب، الا ان صفر الاول حلال.

وكان طوائف من العرب اذا ارادوا ان يغيروا على بعض عدوهم اتوه فقالوا: احل لنا هذا الشهر- يعنون صفر-، وكانت العرب لا تقاتل في الاشهر الحرم، فيحله لهم عاما ويحرمه عليهم في العام الآخر. ويحرم المحرم في قابل ليواطئوا عدة ما حرم الله، يقول: ليحلوا الحرم اربعة غير انهم جعلوا صفر عاما حلالا و عاما حراما.[215]

Junādat Ibn ʿAuf, who was from the tribe of Kinānah and known as Abū Thamāda, said that every year during the *ḥajj* season, he prepared for the *ḥajj* and proclaimed: "O people! Be aware that Abū Thamāda fears nothing and no one can find fault with him. Be aware that the month of Ṣafar is one of the forbidden months."

When they wanted to attack their enemies, it was the custom of the different Arab tribes to go to them and say: "Make this month of Ṣafar [or Muḥarram] lawful for us," as it was their custom not to fight during the prohibited months. Abū Thamāda would make the first Ṣafar month lawful, but unlawful the following year to balance the months that God had made unlawful.

They did it so that the number of the unlawful months would not be confused; they would make the first Ṣafar lawful in one year and unlawful the next.

Moreover, it says in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that Ibn Mundhar has quoted Qattādaas saying in reference to the verse

انما النسیء زیادة فی الکفر

that:

عمد اناس من اهل الضلالة فزادوا صفر فی الاشهر الحرم، وکان یقوم قائمهم فی الموسم، فیقول: ان الهتکم قد حرمت صفر، فیحرمونه ذلك العام، وکان یقال لهما الصفران.
وکان اول من فسا النسیء بنو مالك من کنانة، وکانوا ثلاثة: ابو ثمامة صفوان بن امیة، احد بنی فقیم بن الحارث، ثم احد بنی کنانة.[216]

Some of those who are astray decided to add the month of Ṣafar to the other prohibited months, and their chief would stand and say: "Your gods have banned the month of Ṣafar for you." They would therefore consider it unlawful. And they would call the months of Ṣafar and Muḥarram simply "Ṣafar." The first to put the delaying into practice were Banū Mālik from Banī Kenāna, Abū Thumāma Ṣafwān Ibn Omayyad, another from Banī Faqim, Ibn Hārith, and another from Banū Kenāna.

It also says in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that Ibn Abī Hātam has derived from the verse the following:

کان رجل من بنی کنانة یقال له: جنادة بن عوف یکنی ابا امامة ینسیء الشهور، وکانت العرب یشتد علیهم ان یمکثوا ثلاثة اشهر لا یغیر بعضهم علی بعض، فاذا ارادوا ان یغیر علی احدهم قام یوما بمنی فخطب فقال: انی قد احللت المحرم وحرمت صفر مکانه. فیقاتل الناس فی المحرم، فاذا کان صفر عمدوا ووضعوا الاسنة ثم یقوم فی قابل فیقول: انی قد احللت صفر وحرمت المحرم فیواطئوا اربعة اشهر فیحلوا المحرم.[217]

He was a man from the Kinānah tribe called Abū Amam Junādat Ibn ʿAuf, and his main function was to cast months to oblivion. However, it was too much for the Arabs to wait three months without attacking each other and looting property. Therefore, Junādat wanted to alter the circulation of the respected months for them, and once he stopped the pilgrims at Minā and delivered a speech, saying: "I assigned the month of

Muḥarram as lawful for you, and prohibited the month of Ṣafar instead." Since then, people have accordingly fought during the month of Muḥarram, and when Ṣafar approached, they put their armor aside and stopped fighting. He also spoke at Minā the following year, saying: "Now I have made Ṣafar lawful for you and Muḥarram unlawful." They then agreed on the four months, except that Muḥarram was considered unlawful.

There are two similar hadiths in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that Ibn Mardawayh extracted from Ibn Abbās, who commented on the verse in the same way.[218] There also some hadiths concerning the moving of the *ḥajj* season to other months, so that the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja would find its rightful place.

It says in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that Ṭabrānī, Abū al-Shaykh, and Ibn Mardawayh said that ʿAmr Ibn Shuʾayb quoted his father saying that his grandfather said:

كانت العرب يحلون عاما شهرا، وعاما شهرين، ولا يصيبون الحج الا فى كل ستة وعشرين سنة مرة، و هو النسيء الذى ذكر الله تعالى فى كتابه.

فلما كان عام الحج الاكبر ثم حج رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم من العام المقبل فاستقبل الناس الاهلة، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم: ان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق الله السموات والارض.[219]

It was the custom of the Arabs to regard a month each year as unlawful and make two months lawful the next year instead. As the lunar months circulate, it took twenty-six years for the correct month for the *ḥajj* to find its proper place. This is therefore the same "casting to oblivion" that God speaks of in His Book.

This process continued until it was the time for the main *ḥajj*, the very *ḥajj* that the Prophet made. It took place in a year when the count of the months agreed with the *ḥajj* month. The Prophet said in his sermon: "Now, time has circulated to precisely the time that God created the heavens and the earth as they are today."

It says in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that Ahmad Ḥanbal, Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dawūd, Ibn Mundhar, Ibn Abī Hātam, Abū al-Shaykh, Ibn Mardawayh, and Bayhaqī have related from *Shaʿb al-Imān* by Abū Bakra that the Prophet delivered a sermon on his *ḥajj* pilgrimage in which he said:

الا ان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق الله السموات والارض، السنة اثنا عشر شهرا، منها اربعة حرم، ثلاثة متواليات: ذو القعدة وذو الحجة والمحرم، ورجب مضر الذى بين جمادى و شعبان.[220]

Know that the time has returned, and is now the same as in the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth. A year consists of twelve months, of which four are considered the respected months. Three of these four are successive, and they are Dhu al-Qaʿda, Dhi al-Ḥajja, and Muḥarram. One of them stands alone, and that is Rajab Muḍar, which is between Jumādi and Shaʿbān.

Again in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, Bazzāz and Ibn Jarīr quote this from Abū Hurayra,[221] and Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Hātam, and Ibn Mardawayh have quoted it from Ibn Omar.[222] In addition, Ibn Mundhar, Abū al-Shaykh, and Ibn Mardawayh quote it from Ibn Abbās.[223]

It is also in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* that Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn Mundhar, Ibn Abī Hātam, and Abū al-Shaykh have related that Mujāhid said of the commentary:

انما النسىء زيادة فى الكفر گفته است كه: فرض الله الحج فى ذى الحجة وكان المشركون يسمون الاشهر: ذو الحجة والمحرم وصفر وربيع وربيع وجمادى وجمادى ورجب وشعبان ورمضان و شوال وذو القعدة وذو الحجة ثم يحجون فيه

ثم يسكتون عن المحرم فلا يذكرونه، ثم يعودون فيسمون صفر صفر، ثم يسمون رجب جمادى الآخرة، ثم يسمون شعبان رمضان، ورمضان شوال، ويسمون ذا القعدة شوال، ثم يسمون ذا الحجة ذا القعدة، ثم يسمون المحرم ذا الحجة، ثم يحجون فيه واسمه عندهم ذو الحجة

ثم عادوا الى مثل هذه القصة فكانوا يحجون فى كل شهر عاما حتى وافق حجة ابى بكر الآخرة من العام فى ذى القعدة، ثم حج النبى صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم حجته التى حج فيها فوافق ذو الحجة، فذلك حين يقول صلى الله عليه [و آله] وسلم فى خطبته: ان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق الله السموات والارض.[224]

Turning a blind eye to the misgivings expressed at beginning of the text, what we can obtain from this hadith is that the pre-Islamic Arabs had it

in their minds to perform the pilgrimage to the Sacred House during one of the months of the year, and did it in the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja. Thence they rotated the time of the *ḥajj* each year. They called whichever month the *ḥajj* occurred in "Dhi al-Ḥajja," whatever time of the year it was, and did not call the month by its real name.

The outcome was that each year they made the *ḥajj* was counted as thirteen months, and the names of some months could occur twice, as mentioned in the hadith. Indeed, Ṭabarī has said that the Arabs made the number of months in the year thirteen. There is also another hadith saying that they considered a year as twelve months plus twenty-five days. But the easiest way to do this was to change the names of the months, except for once every twelve months, and if this delay worked out, it would accord with the circulation of time.[225]

Fakhr Rāzī discusses this in detail in his commentary on the verse

ان عدة الشهور عند الله اثنا عشر شهرا فی کتاب الله

Indeed, the number of the months with God is twelve months by God's ordinance... (9:36).

This explanation is the third of the wrongful customs of the Jews, Christians, and disbelievers who have tried to alter God's commands. They did this in the past by casting months to oblivion, thus altering them according to their own desire, and causing an increase in their disbelief and regret.

In the first explanation Fakhr Rāzī puts forward, he says:

Know that for the Arabs a year consists of twelve lunar months, and the reason for this is the following verse sent by God:

هو الذی جعل الشمس ضیاء والقمر نورا وقدره منازل لتعلموا عدد السنین والحساب.

He it is Who appointed the sun a splendour and the moon a light, and measured for her stages, that you might know how the number of the years and the reckonings... (10:5).

In this verse, God has assigned the constant circling of the moon to allow us to calculate the years. The following verse also relates to this:

یسئلونک عن الاهلة قل هی مواقیت للناس والحج.

They ask you, (O Muhammad), of new moons. Say, They are fixed seasons for mankind, and for the pilgrimage... (2:189).

With many other people, a year is calculated by the rotation of the sun, but the lunar year is a little shorter than the solar year, and

the lunar months rotate. Therefore, sometimes the *ḥajj* season is in the winter, and sometimes in the summer, and this, of course, can make it difficult for the pilgrims. When they made the pilgrimage journey in former times, they would also conduct business transactions, but with the change of the seasons they were unable to do this.

To avoid this problem, the pagan Arabs carried out their business by applying a leap year,[226] and assigned the *ḥajj* on the basis of the solar year. Therefore, their journeys to Mecca always happened to be at a certain time during the seasons, and this would bring them two benefits: one was that it was neither too hot nor too cold, and the other was the facilitation of their trading.

Although the moving of the *ḥajj* that occurred with the lunar months was not to their material benefit, it accorded with God's command, whereby He assigned specific months for the *ḥajj*. However, with the delay, the time of the *ḥajj* season moved into another month, which went against God's command. It is because of this that it is considered a sin and disbelief, as the verse blames those who were changing the rule.

As the solar year was longer than the lunar year, they brought the extra days together to make a whole month, which was added to the end of the year, making a year of thirteen months. This is why God considers it wrong and an act of disbelief. He has stated that His everlasting command is that a year must include twelve months, neither more nor less. The rule that was invented for some years to be thirteen months was false, and went against what God had decreed. It therefore goes against the religion.

In ancient times, the Arabs' customs, rules, and religion were based on the lunar year, not the solar. They had inherited this from the Prophets Abraham and Ishmael. However, the customs of the Jews and Christians were different. Some of the Arabs learned about the leap year and casting months to oblivion from the Jews, and the Christians and adopted them.[227]

After a clear explanation, Fakhr Rāzī says that the term "delay" indicates the casting to oblivion, and Abū Zayd says:

نسأت الابل عن الحوض انساها نسأا اذا اخرتها، وانساته انساء اذا اخرته عنه والاسم النسيئة والنس.

Whereas Quṭrab replies:

النسيء اصله من الزيادة، يقال نسأ في الاجل وانسأ، اذا زاد فيه

and Wāḥidī responds: "The initial statement is correct, because the real meaning of the delay is to cast to oblivion. And here, the purpose of the delay is to extend the duration, but not cause an excess."[228]

Fakhr Rāzī's Comments on the Verse Concerning the Replacement of Months

Fakhr Rāzī then points out that if the ancient Arabs had timed their *ḥajj* on the basis of the lunar year, it would have sometimes been in the winter and sometimes in the summer, which would have made traveling difficult at certain times, and would be of no benefit. As others would make the *ḥajj* on more suitable occasions, regardless of the lunar year, they avoided the lunar year and changed to the solar year. Since the solar year is a few days longer than the lunar year, they found it necessary to introduce the leap year, but this caused two problems. Because of the extra days in the solar year, they had to assign thirteen months to some years. The other problem was that the *ḥajj* season moved from month to month, and sometimes it would be in Dhi al-Ḥajja, sometimes during Muḥarram, and at other times during Ṣafar. The months circulated and returned again to Dhi al-Ḥajja. However, by putting the leap year into practice, two other things emerged, namely, the extra days and a delay in the revered month of Muḥarram because of the other months. Now, whether we understand the meaning in the Qur'anic verse as "delay" or "casting to oblivion," as some of the most learned do, or as "excess" as others do, it amounts to the same thing.

In short, the outcome is that the foundations of worship, which accorded with the lunar months, went against their worldly interests, but the solar year was to their benefit. God commanded them from the time Abraham and Ishmael to conduct their affairs according to the lunar months, but because of their worldly interests, they did not follow His command. They abandoned the lunar year and adopted the solar year, and they went on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in months other than the one assigned for it. But God reproaches and humiliates those who disbelieve.

However, the cause of this extreme disbelief is that they made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage during the prohibited months, even though they knew that it went against what they had been commanded. They knew it went against God's will, but they did it anyway, displaying their disbelief. But according to their reckoning, they gained more in that way. They adjusted to the leap years, and their conduct is recorded in several books.

Wahedi has said that the majority of scholars said that this delaying, or casting to oblivion, was not specified for one month only, but was applied to all the months, and as far as we understand, this is

quite correct. Also, the Muslims unanimously agreed with what the Prophet said in his sermon during the Farewell Pilgrimage. He said that, in fact, the *ḥajj* pilgrimage had returned to its original time, as it was right from the start:

الا ان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق السموات والارض، السنة اثنا عشر شهرا.

"Be aware that, indeed, the time (of the *ḥajj*) has returned to its original position, as it was at the time of the creation of the heavens and earth, and know that the year consists of twelve months."[229]

Birūnī's Statement about Replacing Months and Changing the Lunar Year to the Solar Year

Prior to Fakhr Rāzī, Abū Rayḥān Birūnī[230] wrote in several places in his well-known book, *al-Āthār al-Bāqīya an al-Qurūn al-Khālīya*, on how the Arabs delayed the months, as well as on the essential history of Islam and the names of the months. In one section, after mentioning the names of the twelve months, he writes:

المحرم، صفر، ربيع الاول، ربيع الآخر، جمادى الاولى، جمادى الآخرة، رجب، شعبان، رمضان، شوال، ذو القعدة، ذو الحجة.[231]

> In the Age of Ignorance, the Arabs used to name the months as the Muslims do now, and their *ḥajj* pilgrimage circulated throughout all four seasons. But they wanted to make the *ḥajj* when it was the best time for their trade—selling animal skins and other materials that they prepared once a year for the occasion of the *ḥajj* to sell to the pilgrims. They wanted to assign a time that would be best for their trade as well the *ḥajj* pilgrimage.

About 200 years before the year of the Migration, the Arabs learned about the leap year from the Jews who lived nearby. In this way, they added extra days to the lunar months to make a whole month, which they added to the existing twelve to make a year of thirteen months. At the time, the guardian of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage was a man called Qalāmis

قَلَامِس[232]

who would give a talk after the *ḥajj*, announcing the delay of the months and naming the month following the one at the time. The Arabs all agreed, and called this the "casting to oblivion," and every

two or three years they delayed the beginning of the year according to the days needed.

One of their orators said:

لنا ناسیء تمشون تحت لوائه یحل إذا شاء الشهور ویحرم

"He who instigates the delay is one of us under whose banner we live. He makes lawful or unlawful any month he desires."

The first delay took place in Muḥarram, which was renamed Ṣafar, and Ṣafar was renamed Rabi Awwal, and so on, one after another, throughout the months of the year. Hence, the second delay was for the month of Ṣafar, and these delays kept turning continuously until the months reached the point where they had begun.

It was the custom of the pagan Arabs to count the delayed days and calculate their course as the year progressed. If a month in the four seasons of the year came earlier, they would consider the account of the previous month for the following lunar month, until they could establish a leap year.[233] In this way, they could learn the circulation of the moon and its variations as time passed.

This remained the same until the Migration, and as already mentioned, the delayed course had reached the month of Shaʿbān, which they called Muḥarram, and Ramaḍān was Ṣafar. The Prophet waited in Medina until he made the Farewell Pilgrimage. Before leaving Medina, he spoke to the people, saying:

الا وان الزمان قد استدار کهیئته یوم خلق الله السموات والارض.

"Be aware that, indeed, the time (of the *ḥajj*) has returned to its original position, as it was at the time of the creation of the heavens and the earth."

By saying this he meant that the lunar months had returned to their original positions, and the Arabs' delay and casting to oblivion had been wiped out. Therefore, they called the *ḥajj* Farewell Pilgrimage "the *Ḥajj* of Aqwām," and ever since then the previous custom has been forgotten or considered unlawful.[234]

On another occasion, it was said that the nineteenth of Ramaḍān was the day of the conquest of Mecca, and therefore the Prophet did not make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage then. This was because the Arabic months had changed position because of the casting of days to oblivion. So he waited until the months reached the right position and then made the Farewell Pilgrimage, during which he banned the casting to oblivion.[235]

Fallinū, in his *ʿIlm al-Falak* (*Science of the Firmament*), writes: "The presumption that the term 'casting to oblivion' is a kind of leap year,

so that the balance of the lunar months parallel those of the solar year, is not the idea of Fakhr Rāzī, because many astronomers had taken the lead. As we know, the first of these was Abū Mashᶜar Balkhī (d. 272 AH).[236]

Abū Mashᶜar Balkhī's Statement about the Arabs Observing a Leap Year

Abū Mashᶜar states in *al-Ulūf*[237] that during the Age of Ignorance, the Arabs used to follow the course of the year by observing the new moon each month, as is the custom of Muslims nowadays. And they made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage on the tenth of Dhi al-Ḥajja, during a period that did not occur at the same time each year, but always varied throughout the seasons. This was due to the differences between the solar and lunar years.

The *ḥajj* pilgrimage would not always fit in with their business and trade, nor would the weather always be suitable. There was no guarantee that it would be too cold or hot, or that the trees would be green and abundant with fruit. Conditions would therefore vary on the journey to Mecca for both the *ḥajj* and their business. Therefore, the leap year was adopted from the Jews and its name changed to the *nasīʾ*, or "casting to oblivion." The only difference was that the Jews regarded seven of the lunar months over a span of nineteen years as a leap year, so that their nineteen lunar year cycle would match up with nineteen solar years. However, the Arabs regarded twelve lunar months as a leap year over twenty-four years.

They chose Banū Kinānah for the important task known as the *qalāmmas*. His son, who was a custodian for the pilgrims on the *ḥajj*, was known as *qalāmasa*, and together they were called *Nasat*, derived from the word *nasīʾ*. The word *qalāmmas* indicates "a sea full with water," and the last of his children to take over this function was Abū Thumāma Junādat Ibn ᶜAuf Ibn Omayyad Ibn Qalā Ibn Abbād Ibn Qalā Ibn Ḥudhayfa.

During the *ḥajj* season, when the *qalāmsa* would end, he began his sermon in ᶜArafāt when the *ḥajj* happened to be in Dhil-Ḥajja that particular year, and he included the month of Muḥarram in the twelve months. He placed the month of Ṣafar at the beginning of each year, and thereby Muḥarram would occur as the last month of the year, taking the place of Dhil-Ḥajja, the month in which the people would make the *ḥajj*. Therefore, the *ḥajj* would occur twice each year, and after that, when the *ḥajj* ended, he would again give his sermon,

and announce the delay of the month of Ṣafar, the same Ṣafar that had been at the beginning of the two previous years.

Consequently, the *ḥajj* pilgrimage would be in a year when the month of Ṣafar was at the end. He did the same every two years until the rotation reached its original position. Hence, according to *qal-āmasa*, each period of two years consisted of twenty-five months.

Also Abū Mashᶜar relates that the custom of some Arabs was to observe nine months every twenty-four lunar years as leap months.[238] In this way, they accounted for the difference between the lunar and solar months, which was about ten days, twelve and one-fifth hours. When these extra days came to nearly a month, they added a whole month to the year, calculating the extra time as ten days and twenty-one hours. On this basis, the adjustment of their months over time had the desired result, neither losing nor gaining, right up until the Prophet made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage.[239]

Nallino specifies the information the pre-Islamic Arabs had about the stars and the heavens in lessons twelve, thirteen, and fourteen of his book, plus the matter of casting to oblivion mentioned in the Qurʾan, as well as other verses of the Qurʾan and the opinions of commentators.[240]

The Two Common Reasons for "Replacing the Months"

The purpose of our discussion on the casting to oblivion is now clear, especially in light of the numerous hadiths on this subject. In addition, historians and scholars of astronomy like Abū Rayhān Birūnī, Abū Mashᶜar Balkhī, the great Raḥḥāla, the highly-reputed historian Ali Ibn Husayn Masᶜūdī (d. 346 AD) in the *Murūj al-Dhahab*,[241] and the wonderful *at-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*, inform us that the reckoning of the lunar months was changed for two reasons.

The first was because of the shift of the delayed months from their original positions. They deleted the month of Muḥarram and ignored its reverence, renaming it Ṣafar, and did not refrain from fighting and looting during that period. Then they stopped fighting in honor of the four months of Dhu al-Qaᶜda, Dhu al-Ḥajja, Muḥarram, and Rajab, which was unlawful.

The second reason was the delaying of the *ḥajj* season, as well as the displacement the month of fasting and prayer. They would do this only because of changes in the weather and to do business at the best time of the year, thus attracting the various tribes to the *ḥajj*. Hence, the time of the *ḥajj* would be changed from its rightful time to coincide with the best weather. This always varied according to the

lunar months, until every thirty-three years of leap years, or every twenty-six years of newly-invented leap years. According to a hadith from ʿAmr Ibn Shuʾayb, quoting his father and grandfather, the *ḥajj* season returned to its original time. This was why the Prophet said in his sermon:

ان الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق الله السموات والارض.

"Indeed, the time [of the *ḥajj*] has returned to its original position, which was at the time of the creation of the heavens and earth."

We are not to doubt that this refers to the delay of the months, especially that of the month of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, for the verse refers to all of the delays, and our claim is confirmed by well-known hadiths.

Therefore, according to the Islamic revelation, it is unlawful to change the order of the revered months. It is also unlawful to delay the rites of each month, such as the month of Ramaḍān or the *ḥajj* season, which are prescribed at their own rightful times. So, replacing the lunar months with the solar ones, or vice versa, is completely wrong and not permissible in Islam.

The Muslims cannot fulfil the fast of Ramaḍān in Shawwāl or any other month that they prefer because of the shorter days and milder weather of winter, that is, a fast based on the solar months. Nor can they make their Dhu al-Ḥajja *ḥajj* in the month of Muḥarram, or in any preferred month that they choose as more suitable for doing their business. Therefore, the *ḥajj* pilgrimage cannot be based on the solar months. This applies also to other religious obligations that society demands on the basis of reliable traditions and customs.

Muslims should not assign the solar months as the standard for their daily lives, dates, or history, because the Qurʾan clearly enjoins them to observe the lunar months:

وان عدة الشهور عند الله اثنا عشر شهرا في كتاب الله يوم خلق السموات والارض منها اربعة حرم.

Indeed, the number of months with God is twelve [lunar] months by God's ordinance in the day that He created the heavens and the earth... (9:36).

This verse clearly announces that the official Islamic calendar follows the lunar cycle. First of all, the phrase

الارض منها اربعة حرم

indicates the necessity in Islam of not assigning any of the months other than the four lunar months of Dhu al-Qaʿda, Dhu al-Ḥajja, Muḥarram, and Rajab as unlawful. These four months are lunar months, not solar, and it has been related in many hadiths and in the

Prophet's sermon that three of these months are concurrent and one is separate. It has been recorded[242] that the three successive ones are Dhu al-Qa'da, Dhu al-Ḥajja, and Muḥarram, and the separate one is Rajab.

Then there is the phrase

عندالله

followed by

فی کتاب الله یوم خلق السموات والارض

These phrases show that the months are unchangeable, because they are fixed by God until the Day of Resurrection. Therefore, the command written in the Holy Book is

ولا معقب لحکمه تعالی

and God does not go back on His word. It becomes clear that the solar months, no matter how they have come into use—whether they were assigned by astronomers or by convention—are illegitimate.

The lunar months have been the same since God created the heavens and the earth, and begin when the new moon appears and end when it disappears, as it is stated:

والشمس تجری لمستقر لها ذلك تقدیر العزیز العلیم و القمر قدرناه منازل حتی عاد کالعرجون القدیم لا الشمس ینبغی لها ان تدرك القمر ولا اللیل سابق النهار وکل فی فلك یسبحون.

And the sun runs on a course to its resting-place. That is the measuring of the Mighty, the Wise. And for the moon We have appointed mansions till she returns like an old date-stalk. It is not for the sun to overtake the moon, nor does the night outstrip the day; but each swims in an orbit (36:38–40).

The History of Islam Accords with the Lunar Calendar

The lunar months are rational and reliable. Each one has a distinct beginning and end, and they differ from the conventional solar months. Although the four seasons and the solar year are more or less rational and reliable, the twelve lunar months are considered more so, because their origins are fixed. Therefore, the twelve months that make a whole year are those that are fixed by God's ordinance. They are the same months that were assigned on the day when the heavens and the earth were created, and the turning of the entire world, including the sun and the moon, were confirmed. This fixed turning was the basis that established the lunar months.

Among the verses that clearly refer to the necessity of the lunar months is the following:

هو الذی جعل الشمس ضیاء والقمر نورا وقدره منازل لتعلموا عدد السنین والحساب

He it is Who appointed the sun a splendour and the moon a light, and measured for her stages, that you might know the number of the years, and the reckoning (10:5).

It is clear that by the different features of the moon in the sky—appearing as a crescent, becoming round at the full moon, and then diminishing—people can discern the exact time and date while traveling in the deserts without using astronomy. This can be done with the lunar months, but not the solar months. Although the sun is referred to in the verse above, the time and date are measured by the moon.

Another such verse is in chapter two of Surat al-Baqara:

یَسْئَلُونَکَ عَنِ الأهِلَّةِ قُلْ هِیَ مَوَاقِیتُ لِلنَّاسِ وَالْحَجِّ.

They ask you (O messenger), of new moons; say: They are fixed seasons for mankind and for the pilgrimage... (2:189).

Changing the lunar months to solar months amounts to the casting to oblivion, which involves moving certain rites from their proper times, and this is described in the Qur'an as excessive disbelief. The clearest and most poignant speech by the Prophet at Minā was when he said that right from the start, the lunar months were assigned according to the traditions of Abraham and Ishmael, the intended sacrifice for God. However, in the Age of Ignorance they were changed to the solar months. Therefore, the Prophet reverted to the lunar months, and announced clearly that the timing of the pilgrimage happened to be correct because of the revolution of time. Such a *ḥajj* pilgrimage is called the *Ḥijjat al-Islām*, because it occurred at the right time—in the month of Dhu al-Ḥajja—which is the actual month for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage according to Islamic law.

It is related in the *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya* that:

یُقَالُ لَهَا حِجَّةُ السَّلَامِ، قِیلَ لِاخْرَاجِ الْکُفَّارِ الْحَجَّ عَنْ وَقْتِهِ لِأَنَّ أَهْلَ الْجَاهِلِیَّةِ کَانُوا یُؤَخِّرُونَ الْحَجَّ فِی کُلِّ عَامٍ أَحَدَ عَشَرَ یَوْماً حَتَّی یَدُورَ الزَّمَانُ إِلَی ثَلَاثٍ وَ ثَلَاثِینَ سَنَةً فَیَعُودُ إِلَی وَقْتِهِ وَلِذَلِکَ قَالَ (ع) فِی هَذِهِ الْحَجَّةِ: إِنَّ الزَّمَانَ قَدِ اسْتَدَارَ کَهَیْئَتِهِ یَوْمَ خَلَقَ اللهُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالأَرْضَ، فَإِنَّ هَذِهِ الْحَجَّةَ کَانَتْ فِی السَّنَةِ الَّتِی عَادَ فِیهَا الْحَجُّ إِلَی وَقْتِهِ وَکَانَتْ سَنَةَ عَشْرٍ الْحَجِّ إِلَی وَقْتِهِ وَکَانَتْ سَنَةَ عَشْرٍ.[243]

The *ḥajj* that the Prophet made is called the *Ḥijjat al-Islām*, because it was during the proper season for the *ḥajj* pilgrimage. Before the Prophet, the Quraysh had cast the proper time for the *ḥajj* to oblivion, and each year

when they made the pilgrimage it would be eleven days later than the previous year. They kept doing so until the time when the Prophet made the *ḥajj*, when thirty-three years had passed from the previous correct time for the *ḥajj*. The *ḥajj* pilgrimage had reached the right time, so the Prophet said in his sermon: "Now the time has revolved and reached the very time when God created the heavens and the earth." This was because their *ḥajj* pilgrimage happened to be in the tenth year after the Migration, which was the beginning of the thirty-third year.

Yaʿqūbī, Masʿūdī, and Ibn Athīr[244] each maintained this, although Masʿūdī only mentions that the Prophet said: "Indeed the time has come around," among the other events of the tenth year of the *Hijra*.

Islamic Societies Worldwide Must Use the Lunar Calendar

All these records prove that it is not permissible to change the lunar months to solar months, and that all Muslims must keep to the right time, just as the Prophet explained, in accordance with the Qur'an and the tradition of the Prophet Abraham, and follow the same example.[245]

It might be asked if it makes a difference if the *ḥajj* pilgrimage is made according to the lunar months, when other social activities follow the solar months. In those cases there would be no delay or sin, because they are worldly activities that have nothing to do with religion. The solar months of ancient Iran and other countries such as France, Germany, and Russia are based on what is now the Christian calendar. Even if the religious duties are timed according to the year of the Prophet's Migration, the solar months can still be used for everyday matters.

Yet several confusions may arise. First of all, to regard the solar date as official goes against the command of the Qur'an, the Prophet's Sunnah, the example of the Imams and Islamic scholars, and even the wishes of Muslims in general. Secondly, religion and politics are separate matters. This means that religious matters accord with the lunar calendar, while other daily activities can follow the solar calendar, so that a country can simultaneously have two different dates. This means nothing if religion is separate from politics, but unfortunately religion may be subject to politics. This would amount to abandoning what is historically recorded, and makes a division between righteous and unrighteous generations, because from the beginning of Islam up to the present time, all the books, commen-

taries, hadiths, histories, translations of religious books, and even scientific books on astronomy, mathematics, and other topics record events according to the lunar calendar. Thousands, perhaps millions, of books written in different languages—Arabic, Persian, Turkish, English and many others—under Muslim administration are valuable proofs of the lunar calendar. If the lunar calendar were to change to the solar, would this not be discounting all these books and removing Islamic culture from society? Changing the lunar calendar is similar to changing the Islamic alphabet to another.

It also causes confusion amongst the Muslims throughout the world, because they all rely on the lunar calendar, and this can cause ideological differences between one country and another. If they adopt a different dating system, whether historical, solar, Christian, or Zoroastrian, then they unfortunately go against the teachings of the Prophet, and this can cause sharp divisions that are assuredly destructive.

The main cause of unity in Islamic culture is its historical cohesion, whereas differences between Muslims have been the main cause of division and their subsequent downfall.

Islam has brought together under a banner of unity many nations and cultures from both the East and the West, such as the Arabs, non-Arabs, Turks, Hindus, and others, so how distressing it would be if they were to abandon their history, which is the main cause of their unity! Each disparate group would then lose its expectations and have to adopt a different way of life.

This unified history is similar to the use of one language in prayer and other rites, including the recitation of the Qur'an, whereas using another history and a different language for prayer would be signs of division.

We can see that Muslims need unity and cooperation above all, to which the Prophet and the Qur'an have enjoined them time and again, as in the following verse:

وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا.

And hold fast, all of you together, to the rope of God, and do not become divided... (3:103).

The Qur'an announced through the Prophet the particular use of the lunar calendar. So why should we go against the tide and pay no heed to our happiness and blessings?

Foreign Domination by Causing Division among the Muslims

During recent centuries, enemies of Islam have well understood that the only way to prevail over the Muslims and destroy the roots of their culture is to bring division amongst them, and this they have done their best to achieve. During the past few years, they have overturned different Muslim cultures and ruined them one after another.

Our late father, Āyatallah Ḥājj Sayyid Mohammad Ṣādiq Husayni Tihrānī, may God be satisfied with him, stated:

> As Alexander Sulūkī invaded the east, capturing countries one after another as far as India, he wrote to his master Aristotle: "I have conquered all the eastern countries, so what should I do now to keep them with me?" In answer to his letter, Aristotle replied:
>
> > Divide every captive country into smaller ones; then assign a king as ruler over each one and proclaim yourself king of all kings. In this way, they will all be obedient to you and not rise against you, and will not object to whatever you do. The people of the countries under your dominion will always try to make their lands flourish, but if any amongst them seeks to oppose you, crush him immediately with your great power, and put him in his place. But if you want to govern them all as one under one person, they will gradually become stronger, release themselves, and rise against you, including those friendly to you whom you have nominated to stand by you. Some else will claim complete sovereignty, and in that case, you will lose the battle and all the countries you have overcome.

The English, too, have dealt with different nations in this way, including Muslims.

After the failure of the great Ottoman Empire, which governed many eastern countries and parts of Europe and Africa for six centuries, from 1299 to 1923, all the thirty-eight sultans collapsed one after another. The first was Sultan Othmān Khān Ghāzī, who reigned from 699 AH, and the last was Sultan Abdul Azīz II, who reigned up until 1342 AH. This plan was carried out and the Ottoman countries fell to pieces, with each part delivered up to one of their servants.

The European section was split up, including the Balkan Peninsula, including Hungary, into the countries of Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria, the European part of Turkey, Hungary, and Romania, including part of Bucharest. The eastern section of the Ottoman Empire was divided into Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, the Ḥijāz, Aden, Yemen, Iraq, and Kuwait, and the African section was divided

between Egypt and Libya. As can be seen, altogether the Ottoman Empire was divided into nineteen different parts.

Both before and after dividing up the Ottoman countries, alien forces sought to dismantle the spirit of unity amongst the people and teach them new ideas. The plan was to beguile them with a careful plan that would divide them. This was done through newspapers, radio, and cinema, and an educational system teaching meaningless subjects. In addition, the people were captivated by collections of national monuments gathered together in the great national museums. Iranians were invited to reconsider Zoroastrian customs and revive the *Zand* and *Avistā*, and an emphasis was put on the *Shāhnāmeh* by Firdawsī and the stories of Kūroush, Dāryūsh, Sīrūs, and Rustam, simply to capture their imagination.

We have time and again witnessed how many people would jump over bonfires at the festival of the last Wednesday of the year, celebrate the New Year as *Nawrūz*, and regard the thirteenth day of the new year as inauspicious by going to the outskirts of the towns to avoid any problems. The rulers also invented stories that were spread by the affluent to beguile the people.

They said that the language of the Qur'an, the first language of every Muslim, was foreign, and the teaching of Arabic in schools was reduced until it was almost non-existent. Instead they searched for words in the book of *Avistā*, and then used various arguments in an attempt to replace Arabic. The Academy of the Educational Ministry was established, but it served no purpose other than dismantling Islam.

By using pre-Islamic historical records, the same program was applied in other Islamic countries. In Iran this was called "pan-Iranism," in Arab countries "pan-Arabism," and "pan-Turkism" in Turkey. It was called "pan-Hinduism" in India and Pakistan, and in smaller countries such as Qatar, Qatif, and Abū Dhabi, they added "pan" to the name of the country. The countries were divided up and given independence, but their governments were either directly or indirectly controlled by a colonial power.

One of the most significant things that this project succeeded in doing was to replace the lunar calendar everywhere other than Saudi Arabia. This was done in the name of international unity for the promotion of industrial political relationships. The lunar calendar was replaced with the solar calendar, which begins at the date of the birth of Jesus. Therefore, the Muslim calendar was effectively replaced by the Christian one, and since then the people heard nothing about the Prophet's Migration, the prohibited month of Muḥarram, or of Ṣafar.

In Iraq and Mesopotamia, they established the first month of the year as January, and continued accordingly. After that there are Kānūn Dovvum (January-February), Shubāṭ (February-March), Āzar (March-April), Naysān (April-May), Ayār (May-June), Ḥazirān (June-July), Tamūz (July-August), Āb (August-September), Aylūl (September-October), Teshrin Awwal (October-November), Teshrin Thāni (November-December), and Kānūn Awwal[246] (December-January), which marks the beginning of the following year. (These dates originate from the birth of the Messiah, and are recognized as Christian.) The same Christian calendar was established in countries such as Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and a few others, as well as in India and Pakistan.

However, they did not find a good reason for doing the same in Iran, because the people are obedient to their religious leaders, and not to oppressive rulers. This is contrary to those Sunnis who follow their rulers without question, no matter what their ideologies may be. Hence, they gradually imposed their ideas upon the people, so that they forget their old customs and developed newly invented ones.

The Replacement of the Lunar Calendar by the Second Assembly

About eighty years ago, at the second round of meetings on parliamentary law, one step was put into practice, but it did not change the lunar calendar to the solar, which could only be done by the government administration. They established a ruling without changing the calendar by replacing the lunar months that have been in place from the time of the Prophet's Migration from Mecca to Medina.[247] The names of the months remained the same, but since the cycle of solar months was also twelve, they were counted as Ḥamal, Thaur, Juzā', Saraṭān, Asad, Sunbola, Mīzān, ʿAqrab, Qaws, Jady, Dalve, and Ḥūt from the beginning of the year.

The government made the change because it was considered necessary for financial reasons. The solar year was beneficial for the government, because it is eleven days longer than the lunar year, and there was therefore an advantage in paying salaries in line with the solar months.

For example, if the government was spending 24,000,000 monetary units in a solar year, but were to spend the same amount for a lunar year, it would cost an extra 2,000,000 over the course of three years. This is because a month would be added over every period of three years, costing 2,000,000.[248]

When it was intended to establish a customs tariff according to the solar year in Iran, the people were asked the date according to the solar year. They were uncertain, so they answered as well as they could, and that was that Ḥamal and Thaur accorded with the astronomical calendar. Then the Belgians accepted it and acted upon it.

No matter how much I try to calculate how the lunar and solar calendars match up, I cannot work it out, but as it is very simple to establish a customs tariff according to the solar year, it is an easy matter to change the historical calendar. This affects all the customs, traditions, office working hours, and formalities of the official centers, including the justice department, educational establishments, and many others. And all this is simply to suit their calculations. So what does this mean? According to what authority have they put this into practice? Although it is agreed that the solar months mean a decrease in government expenditure, the amount is so small that one feels ashamed to speak about it.

Using this method, the government collects taxes according to the lunar months, but pays out money according to the solar months. If a government receives its annual income according to the solar months, it should pay out in line with the solar months, and if it receives its income according to the lunar months, then it should pay out in the same way. Both systems work out the same, and neither the government nor the people would lose anything.

If the budget of a country is 24,000,000 monetary units in a solar year, and if they want to pay the workers according to the lunar year, it is obviously less than 24,000,000, so what loss would there be to the budget if they received and paid out according to the lunar months? It is the government's decision whether or not to fix the budget regarding income and expenditure according to the lunar or solar months. The balance would be secure, and not a single penny would be lost.

For example, if we suppose that ten guests are invited to a meal, should not one plate of food be given to each of them? If twenty guests are invited, should not twenty plates of food be placed before them? It would be right to distribute the appropriate number of plates for the number of guests, so that each of them has his share. Indeed, if twenty guests are invited and they are served with ten portions of food, then none of them would have enough food and they would not be satisfied. One should not invite twenty guests and serve them with food for ten people. They should be served with enough food for twenty people; otherwise ten should be invited and

served with the food for ten, in which case the host and the guests would all be satisfied.

Nonetheless, excuses were made for all the changes that were made. What they wanted to do was to remove Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Ramaḍān, and Dhi al-Ḥajja, by taking the first step to demolish the religion and pave the way for future developments.

The second round of the Parliament took away the lunar calendar and replaced Muḥarram and Ṣafar with Ḥamal, Thaur, and Juzā'. When certain scholars asked them if they were taking away the rites of Islam by replacing Muḥarram and Ṣafar with non-Islamic names, they said that this had nothing to do with Muḥarram and Ṣafar. The two sacred months could be kept, and people would be able to do what they wanted. They may go on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja, because such things would not be interrupted. In these specific months the people are completely free to do whatever they want, for these months are theirs. They said that they had simply changed the calendar from lunar to solar for administrative purposes, bringing it in line with that of other countries, and that it does not affect any of the rites and other activities. They said that if they had told the people to go on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in the month of Saraṭān, or fast during Ḥamal, then there would be reason to object.

But no one objects or tells them that it makes a difference according to Islam, because whether it concerns worship or politics, the governmental establishment is not separate from religion. The ministries conduct their business under the direct control of the religious law that covers the *ḥajj*, the fast in Ramaḍān, and the mourning in Muḥarram. The government and the people are a single undivided unit. Changing the calendar separates the people and the government. It isolates Islam within society, and causes it to lose value. In fact, it is a way of diminishing Islam and introducing an alien culture. In any case, it was the beginning of a change, and it went on for twenty years in our society. In a sense, it was the second stage, for everything was already prepared, and the enemies of Islam were simply waiting for a good opportunity to put their ideas into practice.

Changing to the Ancient Solar Years in the Fifth Assembly

It was the fifth round of the National Parliament in the forty-third Assembly on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of Ḥūt, 1303 HS (twenty-first of Sha'bān, 1342 AH), when they introduced the solar calendar with Arabic names based on the ancient solar date. No matter how much the Parliament debated the change, it had no effect. Among

those who objected was Shariᶜatmadār Dāmghānī, who said that the solar months assigned according to the revolutions of the sun were much better than the invented ancient months, which did not match any laws.

The original proposal came from Arbāb Kaykhusro Shāhrukh,[249] a strongly anti-Islamic Zoroastrian who was a member of the Iranian Freemasons. He was manipulated and encouraged by Sayyid Hasan Taqī Zādeh,[250] a foreign agent and one of the chiefs of Iranian *Firāmāsonry*. As can be seen from what he said at the assembly, Sayyid Muhammad Tadayyun[251] had a great deal to do with it.

The proposal was to make two changes to the official solar date. The first was to change the Arabic names of the months, such as Ḥamal, Taour, and Juzāʾ, to ancient Iranian ones, such as Farvardin, Ordībehesht, Khordād, Tīr, Amordad, Shahrīvar, Mehr, Ābān, Āzar, Day, Bahman, and Isfand.[252] The second proposal was to change the number of days in a month, assigning thirty-one days to each of the first six months of the year, thirty days to the next five months, and twenty-nine days to the last month, making three hundred sixty-five days altogether. The small amount of remaining time was added to the last month every four years, making thirty days, so that that particular year was three hundred sixty-six days.

It was said that this system replicated the calendar of Sultan Malikshāh Saljūqī, who observed the count of the solar years, but miscalculations had caused it to fall behind. That, however, could be adjusted by referring to Ḥākim Omar Khayyām and other astrologers. If all the months were of thirty days each, and a year came to three hundred sixty days, the year could remain as it was, with the right number of days, by adding five days to the month of Ābān or Isfand, and calling it "Khamsa Mustarraqa." This was because before Islam, the Zoroastrians did not consider the first five days of the year as part of the year, and they went on freely doing charitable things. But by adding these five days, a year would come to three hundred sixty-five days, and then one year could be considered a leap year of three hundred sixty-six days. Also, for the time and date to be exact, every thirty-five years they had another leap year in the fifth year. That is, after the twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-first years, the thirty-second year could be regarded as a leap year, or one year could drop behind in order to make the thirty-third year the leap year.[253] By using this method, the solar year would fall behind by only one day in 6,000 years.

Sultan Malikshāh Saljūqī changed to this calendric system, and began the year at the time of his coronation. He overlooked the Hijrī

date, and intended to modify it. However, the people did not accept the changes, and his innovations did not last, even though they matched the correct time.

Now, if we consider the first six months of the year as consisting of thirty-one days each, and the next six months as thirty days each, with a final month of twenty-nine days, plus a leap year every four years, and then have another leap year after thirty-three years, there would be no change in the number of days. The years would not fall behind, and would accord with the calendar of Malikshāh. There would be no difference in the number of days, and it would not be such a complicated matter. In short, it is important that there are 365 days in the solar year, whether or not the number of days in each month differs, because the main thing is the total number of days in the year.

We call the first month of spring "Farvardīn," but they said that changing the names of the months is unimportant. It is only a change of name, and makes no difference to anything else. In this way they replaced the Arabic names with ancient ones. They called this a revival of national customs, and the reason given was that every nation should be familiar with its customs and respect them. They went even further by also saying that Islam supports national customs.

When they were told that their main aim was Muḥarram and Ṣafar, they said that that was nothing to do with the legislation, and that they only wanted to replace Arabic words with familiar words from the ancient language. They said that nowadays in Iraq and certain other Arab countries, they use Teshrin, Kānūn, and Shubāṭ for names of the months, and they cannot remember any of the Arab names such as Ḥamal, Juzā', and Sunbola. It was then that Sayyid Hasan Mudarris said that they use the names of Muḥarram and Ṣafar in all Islamic countries, but they responded: "We are not concerned with Muḥarram and Ṣafar, for they are a religious matter. What we say is only for official matters. And we want to change the names of the months to an official solar calendar that we have had for years, which does not harm anything, and has nothing to do with Muḥarram and Ṣafar, which are safe as they are. We simply want to replace the names of Ḥamal and Juzā' with Ordībehesht and Farvardin, and establish them as they were in the past."

One of the members of the parliamentary opposition said:

> If you only want to change the names, then do so, but use the modern names that astronomers use, for that would be much better than using the ancient ones. Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī has made a new calendar with the solar months as Chaman'ārā, Golāvar, Jānparvar, Garmākhiz,

> Āteshbiz, Jahānbakhsh, Dezhamkhuī, Bārānriz, Andūhgīn, Sarmādeh, Barfāvar, and Mishkīnfām.[254]
>
> These names have more beauty and are also more meaningful than what Arbāb Kaykhusro took from the ancient books. Chaman'ārā is much better than Farvardin, interpreted as "the equality of souls," and Golāvar is also better than Ordībehesht, which translates as "the Perfect Order and the Holiest."

However, they insisted that this was a revival of ancient customs. They claimed that the names Farvardin and Ordībehesht were better, even relating them to the word "Mordād." They also said that Amordād was better than Mordād, and that it must begin with an "A," as in the old days.[255]

Nonetheless, no matter how much the opposition in the parliament said that they must give the subject more consideration, they had more important things to do than changing the dates of the calendar. They did not want to waste the time of the parliament, and therefore it was rejected.

Six of the Ancient Months Named after Zoroastrian Angels

During the assembly they beguiled the members of the parliamentary opposition by saying that the ancient names simply preserve our national identity. They did not explain that they were from the Avistā, and there were six names of deputy angels of Ormuzd among the names of the months: Ordībehesht, Khordād, Amordād, Shahrīvar, Bahman, and Isfand.

Most of the members of the opposition concurred that they should not go against national customs, but they did not know what to say or do. However, the persistent ones continued to seek to replace Islam as the national identity with Ormuzd.

This amounts to giving Zoroastrian names to the months in an Islamic country with the religion of Muhammad and the Holy Qur'an. It means putting Islam aside. It is not a question of choosing more appealing names for the months, but a devilish appropriation of the territory of Islam. What does this mean? Are they changing the names of the months to those of the angels of the Zoroastrian creed? And then in response calling the Prophet's Migration the beginning of the year, but changing it to the following day? This system is named after the date of Achaemenian. The beginning of the year is Korūs but not Dāryūsh, like the beginning of the year of the Pahlavis or Sultan Saljūqī, a modern innovator and pioneer of modern society.

In the assembly, the only one who partially defended the topic was Shariʿatmadār Dāmghānī, who said that changing the names of the months was of no use and went against Islamic law, and that even if the words Ḥamal, Thaur, and Juzāʾ are not very appealing, they are better than the meaningless names of Farvardīn and Ordībehesht. However, he did not reveal that this replacement was an introduction to the creed of Zoroaster in an Islamic country. Therefore, what is explained here and mentioned separately in the appendix is that perhaps he was unfamiliar with this aberration, and did not have enough knowledge of the great change. This was because they kept their idea secret, and only mentioned that they were going to change the names. They said that it would only be a change of the names, and nothing more than that.

On the twenty-seventh of Isfand (Shaʿbān twenty-first, 1342), about three days before the New Year, they hurriedly took a vote in the parliament[256] and changed the historical date,[257] and then, after a few formalities, on the eleventh of Farvardin, 1304, it was confirmed.

Muʿtamen al-Mulk (Ḥusayn Pīrnīyā) was the parliamentary chief, and he officially announced it as law and government policy. As a gift for the New Year, they presented these beautiful names to the people, encouraging them to accept a corrupt law in disguise. They did it in such a way that even now most people are unaware of their trickery. Without understanding what they actually say, people use the ancient names instead of the proper religious names.

With the circulation of the names of Farvardīn and Ordībehesht in the governmental offices and schools, and in general use, almost everyone became accustomed to them without knowing what they meant. These names gradually found their way from the governmental offices and schools into households by the calendars that were put in circulation. The names became the norm for the people, just as much as the verse *Say, He is God, the Unique.*

After that, the respected names of Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Rabīʿ al-Awwal, Jumādi al-Thāni, Dhu al-Qaʿda, and so forth disappeared. No one was aware of when they were, and they did not observe them in their daily activities, such as celebrations, festivals, or mourning.

The two exceptions were the mourning in Muḥarram and the fast of Ramaḍān. However, most people who wanted to fast in Ramaḍān said that in that particular year they would be fasting from, for example, the fifteenth of Farvadīn until the fourteenth of Isfand. It was the same with young people who were out of the country, since they adjusted the dates of their religious rites to accord with the names of

the months of the Christian calendar: January, February, March, and so on.

Altering the Hijrī Months to Suit the Monarchy in the Third Stage of Despotism

This was just what foreign influences intended to do in order to undermine Islam, and we can clearly see how much they have succeeded by replacing the names of the Islamic months with Christian or Zoroastrian ones. Not only the government offices, but business and trade, and even peasants, use these names.[258] Sometimes we see how even learned religious scholars use them in their pronouncements, and put under their signatures the solar date rather than the lunar. Some of them sometimes add, for example, seventh Muḥarram, 1387 next to their signatures, but sometimes they only use the ancient date. Also, the time set at midday is the foreign time, and the time set at sunset is the religious time.

However, this was only the second stage of an alteration that went on for fifty years. During this period, they waited for an appropriate occasion to put a third stage into practice, one that was even more significant. This was the replacement of the Hijrī date by that of the Shahinahahi. The dates of the Prophet were removed, and the others officially imposed by an aggressive government upon innocent Muslims.

Although a tyrannical form of government dominated the nation for a long time, it had not abolished the virtue and nobility of the laws of the Prophet or disturbed the sentiments of the Muslims. This great change was in open opposition to the religion, and interrupted the chain of belief.

We now wish to briefly discuss an article from the newspaper *Ettilāᶜāt*. The headline said: "Today the common parliaments, by approving a historical manifesto, changed the Islamic date, and therefore the forthcoming New Year will start with the new date: the Shāhanshāhī year of 2535." This was the manifesto of the Common Assembly of the National Senā and Council of Parliaments, under the Chairmanship of Jaᶜfar Sharīf Imāmī in the Senā Palace. While Hovaydā, the Prime Minister, said that the religious calendar is still valid and will be used as usual, he first praised the Pahlavi dynasty and their fifty years of sincere struggle for the nation, and added that the freedom of the people was due to their attentive service to the country.

The main article goes on to say that both the parliaments celebrated the Shāhanshāhī system, which governed Iran for twenty-five centuries and had been a strong support for the nation. The beginning of the Shāhanshāhi system is now to be recognized as the beginning of the national history of Iran. By following the theory of the Rastākhiz Party,[259] the parliaments approved this new change in history and gave it the title of the Manifesto of the Twenty-Fourth of Isfand, 1354. In the assembly, the parliamentary chief, followed by Senator Dr. ʿĪsā Ṣādiq, Holākū Rāmbūd, Senator Emād Torbatī, Dr. Muṣṭafā Alamūtī, Senator Shukat Jahānbānī, and Mrs. Mahīn Ṣānīʿ, gave a speech, and then the manifesto was unanimously agreed upon and signed.

Sharīf Imāmī began his speech by praising the good service of the Shah to the nation during his reign, and added: "Because of a shortage of time, both parliaments have merged into one," and from each of the parliaments, three people gave speeches regarding the occasion of the birthday of Rezā Shāh. The manifesto was subsequently read out to the parliamentary members by Dr. Javīd Saʿīd Nāʾib, and then Hovaydā delivered his own speech.

The first speech was by Dr. Ṣādiq, who, after praising the work of Rezā Shāh and explaining the situation in Iran under his government, as well as describing the great chaos that prevailed when he first took office, divided his speech into different parts.

The first part was about the dispatch of students to foreign countries, the establishment of Tehran University in 1310, free education throughout the whole country, the establishing of clubs and swimming pools by the Prince, the setting up of Firdawsī's 1,000-year memorial, and the inauguration of his dome in Ṭūs in 1313 (and the translation of his works into different languages), the unveiling of women in 1314, and the gathering together of scholars to study Firdawsī, the pride of the nation of Iran. He then went on to speak of Muhammad Rezā Shāh, and ended his speech by talking about the White Revolution in Iran.

After Dr. Ṣādiq, Senator Emād Torbatī took the floor, and he spoke in a manner similar to that of Ṣādiq.

Then Senator Shukat Jahānbānī began her speech, and praised Rezā Shāh, especially for the unveiling of women. Then Dr. Muṣṭafā Alamūtī addressed the parliament, followed by Holākū Rāmbūd and Dr. Mahīn Ṣānīʿ.

After approving the manifesto, Senator Allāma Waḥīdī made a speech that was very deceitful and clearly tampered with the reli-

gion. It was carefully planned to influence those listening, by simultaneously praising aggressive rulers and comparing them with the Prophet, as well as identifying them with hadiths concerning the Imams. So that his devilish plans and ideas about our Muslim nation can be assessed, his speech was as follows:

> Let me tell you briefly something of the foundation of pure Islam and the balance of presumption and jurisprudence, then something of the greatness of how the Shāhanshāhī is based on the Great Kūroush, and finally the necessity of obeying rulers. The methodology and source of presumption are found in the Book, the traditions, opinions, and the intellect. The Book is the Glorious Qur'an, the Divine Book that was sent down to the Prophet with guidance for the people of the world. And in this Holy Book there are verses concerning the benevolence and philanthropy of the Great Kūroush, known as Dhū al-Qarnayn, such as, for example,
>
> ويسئلونك عن ذى القرنين قل سأتلوا منه ذكرا
>
> *And they will ask you of Dhū al-Qarnayn (The Two-Horned One). Say, I shall recite to you an account of him* (18:83). Nominating the Great Kūroush as the Dhū al-Qarnayn is one of the manifest miracles of the Qur'an. After perfect scientific investigation, it has become clear that each side of that King's crown had a projection resembling a horn, and this is why the Holy Qur'an has called this great Shah "Dhū al-Qarnayn."

Then, to perpetuate this invention, he said that Dhū al-Qarnayn actually signifies Alexander: "Alexander was a cruel and aggressive man, and the Qur'an never says anything about such people."

Next, he added that there is another verse in the Qur'an that approves the conduct of the just king:

> Now I will explain the greatness of our King and my belief in his system. It has been related that God said to His Friend Abraham: "O Abraham, you are the manifestation of Our Awareness and Our Sovereignty." Now, it is understood that this state of sovereignty was God's special favor, and this is verified by Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlavī when he says: "The kings are manifestations of the Righteous Kingdom." The statutes of the Prophet also confirm this. It is widely known that the Prophet frequently announced to his companions: "I have been born at the time of a just king." We can clearly see how much the Prophet praises the King of Iran, Anūshirwān [the Iranian King in whose reign the Prophet was born].
>
> In another hadith, he clearly says: "Following the king is mandatory." But before explaining the hadith, it would be better to refer to its origin. The source is in the *Amālī*, written by that great scholar of Islam, Shaykh Ṣadūq:

لا تذلّوا رقابكم بترك طاعة السلطان!

"Do not humiliate yourselves by disobeying the Sultan!" And he adds:

و انّ صلاحكم فی صلاح سلطانكم و ان السّلطان بمنزله الوالد الرّحيم، فأحبّوا له ما تحبون لأنفسكم و اكرهوا له ما تكرهون لأنفسكم.

"Your goodness (in life) derives from the discretion of your sultan. Your king is like a kind father to you, so seek goodness for him as you seek it for yourselves, and hate for him everything you yourselves hate."

Another hadith in the same book states:

قال رسول الله (ص) طاعة السلطان واجبه، و من ترك طاعة السطان فقد ترك طاعة الله عزّ و جلّ و دخل فی نهيه

The Prophet said: "Obedience to the king is mandatory. Whosoever does not obey the king does not obey God, the Honorable and Exalted, for he disobeys the commands of God."

Here we see how he clearly explains that obeying the king is tantamount to obeying God. By virtue of a consensus of opinion, we consider it to be a statement of purity, since obeying a king brings unity. Thus, it is necessary to obey them.

We Iranians in particular, by referring to the statement of our Master, the Commander of the Believers, have our own special beliefs and spiritual nature, and we also regard the command of the king as the command of God because of our national traditions. There is a well-known saying of ours that "Either it is the command of the king or the Command of God!"

Let it be said that according to the hadiths, obeying the king is like the obedience of the pure. It is logical that obeying the king is indispensable, for disobedience to a just and competent king brings chaos, causes disarray, and damages the functions of a country. As it is said:

لولا السلطان لأكل الناس بعضهم

("If there is no king, then some of the people will devour the others").

O respectable deputies! I would like to back up what I am saying with a hadith from the Shaykh al-Muḥaddith al-Ḥurr Āmulī, where he states:

السُّلطانُ ظِلُّ اللهِ فِی الأرضِ، يأوِی إلَيهِ كُلُّ مَظلُوم.

> Sa'di has written in one of his poems that the shadow is identified with that which casts the shadow, as follows: "The king is the shadow of God, and a shadow is never separate from its source."
>
> Now, in this extraordinary common assembly held in honor of the fiftieth year of the blessings of the Pahlavi Dynasty, which coincides with the joyful birthday of the founder of this kingdom, with praise to God, I ask Him to give us enough insight to obey and follow His command. Long live our honorable and great King Aryāmehr, and the venerable Princess who holds the crown, and long live Iran!

It can be clearly seen how the speaker, Allāma Waḥīdī,[260] has manipulated several facts in his talk.

We have no wish to explain the opinions of those who have lectured on the veiling of women or on Firdawsī, under whose statue many opposed to Islam would gather to praise him. We have nothing to do with those who have studied in foreign schools for years and learned another way of life, for they follow those who seek to destroy Islam and overemphasize Zoroastrianism. Therefore, we shall not waste time speaking of them. They have been instructed abroad, and their way of life and plans are nothing but nonsense. What they have learned is meaningless, but they follow it like slaves. Therefore, it is not surprising if they consider the Pahlavi Dynasty as just and fair, even though it was imposed upon the people by imperialists and was cruel in governing the country.

But we are surprised at Waḥīdī, who, with his vast knowledge, was so supportive of a tyrannical and aggressive Shah, whom he openly praised both in private and in public. He bought the trifling wealth of the world at the price of his virtue and the Hereafter, and would flatter in order to put butter on his bread, feeding himself with leftovers from the royal table. To save his temporary position, he did whatever he could that was bad for the religion, the Qur'an, and the Prophet, and betrayed many for a petty reward. Any man of knowledge acquainted with the fundamentals of Islam could easily understand that his pronouncements did nothing but cheat the people. How can a Qur'an sent from God for the guidance and unity of mankind consider obedience to a king necessary? And why should the Prophet give an order making it mandatory to obey a king, after he had struggled for twenty-three years to bring justice and unity, in the meantime combating aggression, and spending ten years after the Migration to Medina in the front line fighting the enemies of Islam, with a battle roughly every two months? The hadiths Waḥīdī related have nothing to do with aggressive rulers. The role of a sultan is just

to be the sultan, and they have the righteous Imams and jurisprudents assigned to them to guide them.

According to a hadith known to both the Shi'a and the Sunnis that states:

لَا طَاعَةَ لِمَخْلُوقٍ فِي مَعْصِيَةِ الْخَالِقِ

following a cruel or corrupt ruler is not incumbent upon any creature. The Qur'an commands all creatures to follow the Prophet and those in authority, that is, the Imams and religious leaders the Prophet has chosen, and the other prophets that God has sent to guide the people. Based on verses in the Qur'an, it is only these who are to be followed. How could the Qur'an, which constantly criticizes cruel rulers throughout the world, such as Pharaoh, Nimrod, the Grand Vizier of Xerxes, and their followers, command people to follow them?

Waḥīdī's first treacherous act was to mention these hadiths and make his application of them seem authentic. This is incorrect, because they are not found in any Shi'a or Sunni chains. Above all, it is clear duplicity to try to magnify an obscure hadith and then use it to deny facts.

There is much debate about whether Dhū al-Qarnayn was actually Cyrus. Even so, even if the Qur'an mentions the name of Dhū al-Qarnayn, it does not tell us to follow him as a king, and anyone with a little knowledge can understand this.

It is strange that Waḥīdī himself mentions the case, but says that Dhū al-Qarnayn cannot be Cyrus, because he is said to have been a cruel man. He continues by saying that the Qur'an does not commend him. So, if this is what the Qur'an says, then why does he quote the Qur'an and then encourage the people to follow and obey the Shah and his family, as if they were the purest of people, similar to angels sent down from the heavens, and that the Purification Verse was also revealed for their sake?

The claim that the Prophet said:

ولدت فی زمن الملك العادل

"I was born in the time of a just king," is an invented story that does not exist in any Shi'i or Sunni books. Anūshirwān was a tyrant king, and therefore the Prophet never praised him, and it is totally wrong when they say that there is a reliable hadith of the Prophet saying to his companions: "I have been born in the time of a just king."

Where is the source of this hadith? In which book is it written, and who related it first? The Prophet did not mention this even once to the companions, let alone repeatedly.

Firdawsī's statement "Whether it is the command of God or the command of the King," refers to a Zoroastrian creed that regards the Shah as God's deputy, and has nothing to do with Islam. Islam does not employ the word *Yazdān*, meaning God, as found in Zoroastrianism. With these false assumptions, and having composed poems about obedience to the sultan, Firdawsī will assuredly stand before Justice on Doomsday to answer for his crimes.

Waḥīdī has translated the phrase

وَان صلاحكم فى صلاح سلطانكم

as: "And indeed your benefit is related to the moral soundness of your sultan," which is incorrect, because the meaning is: "All of you will benefit if your sultan is morally sound." His translation implies that you will benefit if you obey what your sultan commands, and this is false.

And the next notable thing is that he identifies all this as the opinion of those gathered, which is also wrong. It has been said that if a gathering of Infallibles confirms a matter, then it is considered the truth. The opinions of the Infallibles are authentic; thus, when the utterance is theirs, it is acceptable.

The learned and those expert in fundamentals know that in this case the gathering was not important. A gathering convened by the Infallibles concerns tradition, and becomes the norm for all Muslims. In order to strengthen his speech, he upheld the deception by relying on the clothing of the gathering to support his case.

Logically, the intellect tells us something else. The intellect tells us that we should not follow the vain and corrupt, nor obey a tyrannical ruler, but free ourselves from such things. Then we can follow a just, sympathetic, and loyal ruler who never seeks the enjoyment of this world, but is always concerned about the welfare of his nation. Thus, we have extended our comments on this speech to show that there are almost always such demagogical people in the courts of kings to beguile the common people and keep them silent.

Hence, it is not surprising how some people like Abū Hurayra, Abūdhar, Kaʿb, Samurat Ibn Jundab, and many others turned to Muʿāwīyah, although they were companions of the Prophet for a long time. They would then sit at his table and compose thousands of poems about the virtues of the two Shaykhs and the family of Banī Omayyad, Othmān, and Muʿāwīyah. They overlooked the status of Ali, and only quoted the Prophet on the pulpits for their own benefit.

History is the record of events, so if we want to observe something like the palace of Muᶜāwīyah, we should look at the parliaments of Sana and the National Council and the senators and deputies, for they are mirrors of the past.

Muᶜāwīyah sent his page to Samurat Ibn Jundab telling him that he would give him 100 dirhams to relate the following verse to the people:

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَشْرِي نَفْسَهُ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاةِ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ رَءُوفٌ بِالْعِبَادِ

And of mankind is he who would sell himself, seeking the pleasure of God; and God has compassion on His servants. (2:207).

The verse is about Ibn Muljam Murādī, who was a wretched man from the Tribe of Murād. But the following verses refer to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib:

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يُعْجِبُكَ قَوْلُهُ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيُشْهِدُ اللَّهَ عَلَى مَا فِي قَلْبِهِ وَهُوَ أَلَدُّ الْخِصَامِ ۝ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى سَعَى فِي الْأَرْضِ لِيُفْسِدَ فِيهَا وَيُهْلِكَ الْحَرْثَ وَالنَّسْلَ وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْفَسَادَ ۝ وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُ اتَّقِ اللَّهَ أَخَذَتْهُ الْعِزَّةُ بِالْإِثْمِ فَحَسْبُهُ جَهَنَّمُ وَلَبِئْسَ الْمِهَادُ

And of mankind is he whose speech on the life of this world pleases you, and he calls God to witness what is in his heart, yet he is the most rigid of opponents. And when he turns away from you, his effort in the land is to make mischief there and to destroy the crops and the cattle, and God likes not mischief. And when it is said to him, "Fear God," pride takes him to sin. Hell will settle his account, an evil resting-place. (2:204–206)

Samurat Ibn Jundab did not accept the offer, so Muᶜāwīyah raised the sum to 200 dirhams, but still he refused. Finally, Muᶜāwīyah offered him 400 dirhams, which he took.[261]

Furthermore, the change of the date was the third process that the imperialists put into practice. Without letting the people know what was going on, they held a meeting of the two parliaments together, because any delay would have betrayed what was going on. They then carried out their plan and signed the manifesto. It was completely clear that the change of the dating system was the jewel in their crown, and brought Zoroastrian ideas into politics and imposed them upon innocent people.

Hūshang Nehāvandī, the parliamentary speaker, said during the session that assigning the new date is a recognition of ancient Iranian history. The new calendar would be unique to Iran, and depict a history worthy of honor.

Farhang-Mehr, the speaker of the Pahlavi University of Shiraz, said in the assembly that Iran is a distinct independent unity formed by Cyrus the Great of the Hakhāmaneshī Dynasty.

After expressing his approval, Prime Minister Amir Abbās Hovaydā began his speech by saying that they had assembled at this historical moment to deliver speeches and celebrate twenty-six centuries of Shāhanshāhī history. He said that it is obvious that the lunar Hijrī calendar is historically our religious date, and would be preserved. However, they were gathered there that day to witness the shining forth of a new date and history that revealed that there has only been one Iran with its own king, and that they are inseparably united.

On the following day, Monday, the twenty-fifth of Isfand, 1354, the *Ettilā*ᶜ*āt* newspaper published an article saying that the new legislation of the common parliaments had assigned a national calendar (that is, Farvadīn, Ordībehesht, but based upon the Migration of the Prophet) that has a new and perfect significance, and demonstrates the founding of Iran's Shāhanshāhī when Cyrus the Great began to reign. The national calendar depicts all twelve months with their ancient names. However, Farvadīn as the first month does not represent the history of Iran before Islam. This was neither logical nor desirable to cause damage by having the Arabs invade the continuity of the kingdom and the date of a country that has a long history, stretching from Cyrus the Great until now.

The newspaper went on to say that although we have accepted the religion of Islam and are very proud of it, we have preserved our history and culture and will continue to do so. Our religious calendar, as in other Islamic countries, commences with Muḥarram and finishes with Dhi al-Ḥajja. It is secure in its place, and likewise is our national calendar, which begins with Farvadīn and ends with Isfand. One is the Hijrī calendar and the other the Shāhanshāhī, the former representing our religion and the latter our national identity.

In short, it becomes clear from all this that differentiating between two calendars only separates religion from nationality, politics, and social affairs, and ignorance is introduced by making ancient laws and customs the norm. By isolating the religion of Islam and the traditions of Muhammad, an invented system diminishes the nobility of the people.

As already mentioned, they said that they had not interfered with the lunar Hijrī date and history, and that it is secure in its place, but that the official date must be solar, beginning with the month of Farvadīn, as it was called with the Shāhanshāhī. This means that the

most important thing for the country is the month of Farvadīn, as well as pride in Cyrus the Great as the ruler of Iran. This is what isolates people from their connection with religion, their love for their country, and even their chastity. It is not good for the nation, since it is an element of imperialism.

It does not damage imperialism if an elderly woman marks a certain page of her supplication book with a lunar date, or an old man marks a page of the rites of *Laylat al-Raghā'ib* in the same way, for what is harmful in that? They say that if we begin the calendar at the time of the Migration, we suffer a loss regarding our history, but if it begins at the time Cyrus it gives us pride in our country.

اُفٌّ لَّكُمْ وَلِمَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللهِ

Fie on you and all that you worship instead of God... (21:67).

The Decline of the Pahlavi Dynasty Because of the Abrogation of the History of Muhammad

All people throughout the world are proud of their prophets. Christian history begins with the birth of the Messiah, and the Zoroastrians and Jews likewise have their own calendars. Then is the Prophet such a disgrace that he should be rejected? This support of imperialism is of the first degree. They changed the Hijrī date to that of Christianity. We know that the Messiah was also a great messenger, but we do not follow him. But they have overlooked all the messengers and suddenly chosen Cyrus.

اُفٌّ لَّكُمْ وَلِمَا تَأْسِرُونَ عَلَى مَنْهَجِ الشَّيْطَانِ

"Fie! Woe upon you, for you are moving on the way of Shaytān."

This angers God, and His lofty status does not merit such unseemly actions. In three successive steps, by changing the lunar year to the solar, then changing the solar Hijrī date to the ancient Hijrī, and finally changing the ancient Hijrī to the ancient Shāhanshāhī, their foul deeds are most deplorable, and their homes and palaces will collapse upon them, as the divine revelation says:

فَجَعَلْنَاهَا حَصِيدًا كَأَنْ لَّمْ تَغْنَ بِالْأَمْسِ

...and We make it a harvested land as if it had not flourished yesterday... (10:24).

فَأَخَذَتْهُمْ صَاعِقَةُ الْعَذَابِ الْهُونِ بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْسِبُونَ

...so the bolt of the doom of humiliation overtook them for what they used to earn (41:17).

We expected an angry reaction from the Muslims against the earlier imperialist regime that collapsed, under which they had suffered for 1,400 years. They had the right to maintain the lunar calendar, and the nation expected the authority of a parliament of experts to announce the date according to the lunar Hijrī, but unfortunately it did not.

The Incorrectness of Joining the Lunar and Solar Months

If the origin of the official date is the time of the Migration of the Prophet, then both the solar Hijrī and the lunar Hijrī dates are creditable. However, the basis of the date for the governmental offices is the solar Hijrī, and a bank holiday would be on a Friday. Here we see that the only change is the third one, that is, the change from the Shāhanshāhī date to the Hijrī. Yet the solar years remained as they were before the official years, and the ancient Zoroastrian months, such as Khordād and Bahman, did not change.

There are three problems with this. First of all, what does it mean to merge the solar and lunar dates, while the Qur'an specifies that the lunar months are authentic? Apart from that, the law of the Prophet and the religious leaders is based on the lunar calendar. Validating the solar calendar just makes it official, and immobilizes the lunar calendar.

The second problem is the question of why government activities are based on the solar calendar. This entails two big problems of its own. If religion is not separate from politics, then the government should function according to the lunar months. So how did this come about?

The third problem is that running the government on the basis of the solar months legitimizes the solar calendar by putting it into practice. Government offices recognized the official solar months, but not the lunar months and years, and the government works on the basis of the solar months and years, rather than the lunar calendar, both nationally and internationally.

So what is the difference between this arrangement and the one put into practice by the third assembly of the previous parliaments? They also said that the lunar Hijrī months are secure as far as the religion is concerned, but the ancient Shāhanshāhī date is for official matters, government meetings, seminars, conferences, celebrations, business, and so on.

Nowadays there are also other events that do not follow the lunar months. The anniversary of the Revolution, martyrdoms, and

other celebrations are based on the solar date. For example, they consider the twelfth of Ordībehesht as the anniversary of the martyrdom of Shaykh Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, although it was the fifth of Jamādī al-Thāni. The martyrdoms of Dastghayb,[262] Ṣadūqī, Qāḍī, Ashrafī, and Mufattiḥ, which they claim to be on the Day of the University and Religious Students, are also observed on solar dates.

They celebrate the death of Ṭabāṭabā'ī on the twenty-fourth of Ābān, when it should be the eighteenth of Muḥarram.[263] He would disapprove of this, since he was a righteous man and observed the lunar calendar.

Since these martyrdoms, celebrations, and memorials are religious occasions, it would be much better for them to be acknowledged according to the lunar calendar, and to remind the next generations of these dates. The martyrdom of the innocent scholar Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris was in Bandgāh Kāshmar during the month of Ramaḍān, while he was fasting just prior to the evening prayer. So it is better if he is remembered on the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān than on the tenth of Āzar.[264] And which is better, remembering the occasion of the hanging of the martyr Shaykh Faḍluallah Nūrī on the thirteenth of Rajab,[265] the birthday of Imam Ali, or according to the solar date?

The whole nation rose up after mourning for ten days for the tenth of Muḥarram, and all had been in the mosques listening to sermons and remembering the martyrdom of Imam Husayn. This ended with the historic lecture by the Ruler of the Revolution on the Eve of Āshūrā in the Mosque of Fayḍiyya, which resulted in his capture and being taken to Tehran to be hanged. Then the people rose up for his sake. However, all such events are mentioned according to the solar months, but is it unfitting to say that it happened on the twelfth of Muḥarram instead of fifteenth of Khordād?

Now, is it not better to say it was the eve of the first day of Muḥarram when the people rose up against the tyrannical regime in Tehran, when they wore white shrouds and shouted: "God is Most Great"? Or should it be the first or fifth of Mehar?

In short, for religious and historical reasons, it is better for Muslims to follow the lunar calendar. Nowadays, it is strange that when seminars take place with Muslims in other countries, the Iranians are asked by others why they have a solar calendar. If they should then turn to the Iranians and ask: "So what is your date? Which date is better for us Muslims to unanimously follow?" they would have no proper answer, unless they said the lunar Hijrī.

We have been criticized because our dates and times are solar, and are based on months such as Farvadīn, Bahman, and so on. So we should reform our system according to the Qur'an, and be proud to demonstrate our unity and belief.

We repeat: it is not right for the death of Imam Alī to be recognized according to the solar date. In any case, one year it is in the month of Shawwāl and another in Rabīᶜ al-Awwal. It is wrong to celebrate the day of Āshura according to the solar calendar, and likewise the birthday of Imam Ali, for sometimes it is in Muḥarram, and sometimes in Ṣafar. Over the course of several years it will change, as do other dates.[266]

This essentially amounts to the very postponement of a sacred month (the casting to oblivion) that the Qur'an prohibits, and the Prophet warned against during the Farewell Pilgrimage. This is because the solar years are longer than the lunar years, and if the calendar is solar, the lunar date falls back eleven days each year. Therefore, to prevent the postponement of a sacred month, and have every date in its rightful place, we have to observe the lunar date only.

Since the Prophet mentioned in his sermon at Minā the clause on the postponement of sacred months (casting to oblivion), we were obliged to comment on it, and it led us to explain certain aspects of the solar and lunar months. So, with praise to God, the discussion has successfully come to a close, and is now at the disposal of those book-lovers who are studying *Knowing the Imams*.

APPENDIX

The solar year is the time the earth takes to make a complete orbit of the sun. Therefore, the period from when the earth is in the time of Aries until it reaches that point again comprises 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes and 45 seconds. It is impractical to divide this amount exactly into twelve months, so an astronomer is needed to make a calculation. However, since the astronomers have not always agreed, different systems have developed, such as the Roman, the Christian Johannine and Gregorian calendars, the solar Hijrī, the Yazdgirdy solar calendar, the Jalālī Malikshāhī, and the ancient solar years. In each of these there is a difference of one day.[267]

The lunar year of twelve lunar months is quite straightforward and observable, with each month established by the conjunction of the sun with the moon, which appears as a crescent. There is no need for an astronomer to calculate the months, nor is it necessary for an adjustment such as a leap year. Astronomers have established leap years for the astronomical solar months, but not for the religious lunar months, which can simply be followed according to the appearance of the crescent moon.

Islam is the Religion of Nature and Is Based on Natural Laws

The religion of Islam is based on man's temperament, as the Qur'an states:

فَأَقِمْ وَجْهَكَ لِلدِّينِ حَنِيفًا فِطْرَتَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي فَطَرَ النَّاسَ عَلَيْهَا لَا تَبْدِيلَ لِخَلْقِ اللَّهِ ذَٰلِكَ الدِّينُ الْقَيِّمُ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

So set your purpose for religion as a man by nature upright—the nature (framed) of God, in which He has created man. There is no altering (the laws of) God's creation. This is the right religion, though most men know not (30:30).

Thus, all the rules are based on man's nature and observation. The first day of the month is when the waxing moon appears in the sky, and the month continues until the next new moon appears for the following month. This is a very simple method that can be easily followed without making any calculations.

This way of observing the beginning of each month and the movement of the moon in the sky is the primary method for both the learned and the common people, and needs no astronomer because no one mistakes it.

If someone were to be at sea for many years, reside on a mountain far away from other people, live alone in a far-off village, or fall behind a caravan and lose his way, wandering in a barren desert for years, he would still be able to know the date and the month.

Islam, which is a natural religion for people, has laid down this method whereby the days, months, and years are known to all by observing the moon at the beginning of the month, and then keeping an account of the subsequent days. This is so easy and perfect that if two seekers on God's path were on opposite sides of the globe with no calendar or astronomer, and they were to meet after a long period, both would have the exact date. This is because they would always be able to calculate the numbers of the days and months by the appearance of the crescent moon.

This is a rule with nothing lacking or superfluous, and needs no astronomer to keep account of it. The followers of this method do not disagree with one another, and it involves no manipulation or doubt. It is a rule that can help all mankind wherever they live, and bring them all under one canopy to guide them and show them the exact time. Thus, the true law of the Prophet is only this:

بعثت علی شریعة سمحة سهلة

"God has assigned me to make known an easy religion."[268]

The Usefulness of the Lunar Year and the Drawbacks of the Solar Year

Just think what would happen if the solar calendar replaced the lunar calendar. First of all, an observatory would be needed, as well as astronomers, and the fixing of a mild vernal or autumnal season, because Islam never bases its laws on falsity. Secondly, what kind of solar month would be chosen, since we know that the solar months differ one from another according to the different calendars? A third point is that if it were up to astronomers to pick the months, then each astronomer would have his own date, and chaos would ensue. We know that even if the astronomers made no mistakes in their calculations or when they establish a leap year, the authority to do this would be in their hands, and therefore they would all go their own ways and make different calendars.

The lack of an authentic calendar would cause differences among the Muslims all over the world. Peasants, caravans, sailors, and those on long journeys would forget the exact time and date, and would not be able to keep track of the time for their religious rites. As the Qur'an states:

حلالُ مُحمّدٍ حلالٌ إلىٰ يومِ القيامه، وحرامُ مُحمّدٍ حرامٌ إلىٰ يومِ القيامه.[269]

"The lawful things of Muhammad remain lawful until the Day of Resurrection, and his unlawful things are unlawful until that Day." And we can see the relevance of that in this other verse:

إنّ عِدّةَ الشُّهورِ عندَ اللهِ اثنا عشرَ شهراً في كتابِ اللهِ يومَ خلقَ السّمواتِ والأرضَ منها أربعةٌ حُرُمٌ ذٰلكَ الدّينُ القيّمُ.

Indeed, the number of the [lunar] months with God is twelve by God's ordinance in the day that He created the heavens and the earth. Four of them are sacred: that is the right religion... (9:36).

This verse shows us that the order of the months depends on the creation, and that the number twelve is related to the genesis and nature of the sky and the earth. In addition, they have been formed according to an established religion; that is, the lunar years and the months do not vary, but are fixed by God so that the sky and the earth are stable.[270] So this is the only religion whereby all the dates are regulated. For example, everyone knows that today, as this is written, is the fourth of Rabi al-Thāni, 1405 AH. This date—the day, month, and year—is the same all over the world for Muslims.

Now we can understand how imperialism has tried to change the established date by replacing the lunar calendar with the solar or Christian one, in addition to connecting it to the history of the Shāhanshāhī. They have done their best to do away with this strong bond amongst Muslims.

قطعَ اللهُ أيديَهُم وثبّتَ كلمتَهُم ولعنوا بما قالوا وبما عملوا، وثبّتَ اللهُ المؤمنينَ بدينِهُمُ القويمِ وصراطِهُمُ المستقيمِ وأعلىٰ كلمةَ المسلمينَ، وهيَ الكلمةُ العليا.

May God sever their hands, take away their speech, and curse them for what they say and do; and may God confirm the Muslims in their firm religion on the right path, and raise their voices high.

Another benefit of the lunar calendar is for the religious rites that are performed on different occasions. For example, the time of the fast in Ramaḍān changes throughout the different seasons of the year, and sometimes occurs in the winter, in the spring, the summer, or autumn. It is according to his nature that man needs to fast at different times of the year. He benefits by the fast according to the laws of nature, for it prepares him to tolerate hunger and thirst during the longer hot days. Therefore, struggle in the way of God, which is incumbent upon all, whether young or old, is not to be done only during a special or milder season, but also in the hottest days of summer.

It is necessary for Muslims to do this in both the coldest and the hottest days, and their struggle is made easy for them. And so it is with the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in Dhi al-Ḥajja, which rotates throughout the four seasons for their benefit and satisfaction, since it prepares them for the *ḥajj* in the different seasons of the year. In short, as man's nature varies throughout the different seasons, Islam has taken this into consideration, and has assigned laws compatible with the well-being of the people.

Islam Never Encouraged People to Celebrate *Nawrūz* (the New Year)

However, some people accept things concerning the New Year that they claim Islam approves of, such as the recitation of certain supplications, making the ablution, and praying at the beginning of the New Year, but this is total nonsense. Islam has never required or encouraged this, and it is considered an innovation that should be done away with. Although its chain is very weak and unreliable, there is a hadith about this from Muʿallī Ibn Khunays, saying:

مَنْ بَلَغَهُ ثَوَابٌ عَلَى شَيْءٍ فَأَتَى بِهِ الْتِمَاسَ ذَلِكَ الثَّوَابِ اوتِيَهُ وَإِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ كَمَا بَلَغَ.[271]

"Whoever is told he will receive a reward for his good deeds, and then does a good deed for that reward, the reward is given to him, though the affair is not as he thought."

With God's help, we have it in mind to write a booklet about the New Year and how it is no more than a custom. It is the same with the festival of Mehrjān. Islam considers the "taking hold of Mehrjān" something from the Age of Ignorance. We hope to include something about this also.

It is time we brought to an end the matter of the solar and lunar calendars, and finish by simply recalling the case of casting to oblivion in the hadith from the Farewell Pilgrimage, and discuss other rites that the Prophet performed at Minā.

Other Rites Fulfilled by the Prophet at Minā

After delivering his sermon at Minā, the Prophet set out for the place of sacrifice at Manḥar, in order to personally sacrifice the camels he had brought with him. We have already mentioned that he had brought more than sixty camels with him. Ali had also brought from Yemen between thirty and forty camels to give to the Prophet. The Prophet shared them all with Ali at the sacrifice, in which they both

took part. The Prophet began the sacrifices, and it is said that he sacrificed sixty-three—one for each year of his life—and then Ali sacrificed the remainder.

Nājiyat Ibn Jundab Khūzāʿī Aslamī[272] was in charge of all these camels. The Prophet ordered him to take a tiny piece of each camel and put it in a big stone pot to cook. Then the Prophet and Ali sat eating the food.

Afterwards, the Prophet gave away the rest of the meat as charity, and even the animal skins and all the accoutrements, such as the saddles and reins. He did not keep anything for the men who were busy cutting and sharing out the meat, but paid them a separate wage of his own accord.[273]

When the Prophet had finished the sacrifices, he had his hair shaved by Muʿammar Ibn ʿAbdullah. He first of all pointed to the right side of his head, and the barber shaved that part. In the meantime, the Prophet let Abū Ṭalḥa Anṣārī take the hair and share it among the pilgrims, giving each pilgrim one or two single strands. Then the Prophet pointed to the left side of his head and the barber began shaving that part. This time the Prophet gave the hair to Umm Sālim, the wife of Abū Ṭalḥa Anṣārī, or Kurayb, or again to Abū Ṭalḥa, to share among the rest of the pilgrims.[274]

When the shaving was done, the Prophet put on his usual clothes and set off for Mecca to circumambulate the Holy House and say the circumambulation prayer.

We should know that before moving towards Mecca, the pilgrims kept asking about the shaving or shortening of the hair, and the Prophet said: *Raḥim Allah al-muḥalliqīn* ("May God bestow His blessings upon the cuttings of hair"). It is also related that as some of the followers had their hair shaven and others had it shortened, and that the Prophet said: *Allahumma iqfir lil muḥalliqīn* ("O God, bless those with shaven hair").

They also asked:

والمقصرين؟

("Will He send His mercy upon those who have shortened their hair?"), and the Prophet repeated:

اغفر للمحلقين.

Once again they asked:

والمقصرين؟

and for the third time the Prophet said:

اللهم اغفر للمحلقين.

a fourth time, the Prophet said:

والمقصرين

"God will send His mercy upon those who have shortened their hair."[275]

Some have said that this exchange took place during the Prophet's *ʿumra* al-Ḥudaybīyya, rather than the Farewell Pilgrimage. However, the story has been narrated in different ways, and it should be of no surprise that the Prophet prayed and asked forgiveness on more than one occasion for those who had shortened their hair.

After the Prophet had left Minā and arrived at Mecca, he asked for some water to perform the ablution in the Holy Mosque, and when some of the people, including his uncle Abbās, wanted to fetch water from their homes, the Prophet said: "No, but bring some of the same water that the people are drinking here."[276] So they approached the Well of Zamzam and asked the special water carriers from the tribe of Banī Abd al-Muṭalib for some water, and then took it to the Prophet. First he drank a little, and then poured the rest into the water pot. He returned it to the same people to pour back into the well, and said: "If I were not concerned that the people would copy my action and take it as an innovation, I would go to the Well of Zamzam and fetch the water with my own hands, so that I would suffer the pressure of the rope and the heavy water-bucket on my shoulders."[277]

The Prophet circumambulated the Holy House and prayed, and returned to Minā on the same day. Some have said that he made the midday prayer at Mecca. Others have said that he prayed at Minā, but that is unlikely, because no matter how long the day was, the time [illegible] the *ḥajj* rites, stone the pillars, have his hair shaved, [illegible] camels and then eat some of the meat, recite a [illegible]le's questions, go back to Mecca (which is [illegible] fulfil the rites at the Kaʿba would [illegible], the Prophet would not have had [illegible]er at Minā.[278] It states in *al-Bidāyat* [illegible]at the Prophet's *ḥajj* was during the [illegible] is reasonable to assume that he said [illegible] then left for Minā.

We should [illegible]hat any kind of *ḥajj*, whether the greater *ḥajj*, the *qirān* [illegible] two sessions of circumambulations. The first is called "[illegible] circumambulations," or *Ifāḍah*. Whether or not the pilgrim [illegible] Arafāt, he can do this in his pilgrimage garb just like [illegible] bulations of *qirān* or *mufrad* (*Ifrād*). As the

Prophet's pilgrimage with Ali was *qirān*, and they had sacrificial animals with them, when they entered Mecca, they circumambulated the Holy House and ran between Ṣafā and Marwa before doing anything else or going to ʿArafāt. Whether or not it is after a stay at ʿArafāt—as in the main *ḥajj*—for the *qirān* and *mufrad ḥajj*, one should circumambulate and run between Ṣafā and Marwa before departing for ʿArafāt.

Other circumambulations called *tawāf al-nisā'*, the circumambulations for the women, are made after finishing the rites. This is the same for both the Sunnis and the Shiʿa. These circumambulations are not a part of the *ḥajj* rites, but a personal act separate from the rest of the *ḥajj*. If anyone should omit them, there is no loss. It is simply to verify that things have been been properly put in order. The reason it is called "the circumambulations for the women" is that it refers to the marital terms of the women, whereas the *Ifāḍah* circumambulations, which are part of the *ḥajj*, make the women pure and lawful, and one applies perfume. The Sunnis also consider these latter circumambulations incumbent upon all, but call them "the farewell circumambulations." It indicates that the women are lawful for the men, and without it the women remain unlawful for their spouses. The main reason that they do not call this "the circumambulations for the women" is that most of them do not believe that the "visiting" and *fāḍah* circumambulations and the application of perfume bring lawlness, and many of them believe that immediately after the shaving the hair, the sacrifice, and the application of perfume, the women e made lawful for them. So there is no difference between the two cumambulations for them, and this is why they call the latter "the cumambulations for the women" [illegible] is to make r women lawful, and so [illegible] umambulations, and it [illegible] es does not affect the [illegible] y circumambulation [illegible] hat they make befo[illegible] he women's or fa[illegible] en the two mou[illegible] and involves two [illegible] tions include the [illegible]

therefore see that [illegible] h circumambulat[illegible] en's or farewell [illegible] aving made the [illegible]

the pilgrimage garb in Mecca as the Prophet said, and whose *ḥajj* was the personal *ḥajj*, had to make an *Ifāḍah* circumambulation as well as the running after going to Minā and fulfilling the rites there, and then make the women's circumambulations or the farewell circumambulations immediately after.

After carrying out the rites at the Holy House, the Prophet returned on the day of the sacrifice to Minā, where he answered the pilgrims' questions on the rites at Minā by saying: "It is not a problem." They asked about various things: shaving the hair before sacrificing the animals, shaving the hair before the stoning, even fulfilling the visiting circumambulations before the stoning. To all these questions he answered: "It is not a problem."[280]

The Sunni and Shi'a hadiths are of the same opinion regarding this; therefore, we will relate two of each.

From the Shi'a, Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm relates from his father, Ibn Abī Umayr, that Jamīl Ibn Durrāj said:

سَأَلْتُ أَبَا عَبْدِ اللهِ (ع) عَنِ الرَّجُلِ يَزُورُ الْبَيْتَ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَحْلِقَ قَالَ: لَا يَنْبَغِي إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ نَاسِياً. ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ (ص) أَتَاهُ النَّاسُ يَوْمَ النَّحْرِ، فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ إِنِّي حَلَقْتُ قَبْلَ أَنْ أَذْبَحَ، وَ قَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ: حَلَقْتُ قَبْلَ أَنْ أَرْمِيَ، فَلَمْ يَتْرُكُوا شَيْئاً كَانَ يَنْبَغِي لَهُمْ أَنْ يُؤَخِّرُوهُ إِلَّا قَدَّمُوهُ، فَقَالَ: لَا حَرَجَ.[281]

I asked Imam Ṣādiq about a man who had visited and circumambulated the Holy House before having his hair shaven, and he replied: "He should not have, unless it was due to forgetfulness." Then he said:

> On the day of the sacrifice, a few people went to the Prophet and said: "O Messenger of God, we have had our heads shaven before sacrificing our animals," and others said: "We have had our heads shaven before stoning the pillars." They had left nothing out after the shaving of their heads, but had done these other things before the shaving, so the Prophet answered: "This is not a problem."

The next hadith is from some of the companions, related from Sahl Ibn Zīyād from Muhammad Ibn Abī Nasr, who said:

> I asked Imam Bāqir about a man from among us who had his hair shaven after stoning the pillars on the day of sacrifice, but before sacrificing the animal. The Imam said:
>
> > On the day of the sacrifice, different tribes went to the Prophet and said: "O Messenger of God, we sacrificed the animals before stoning the pillars, and had our hair shaven before the sacrifice." They had not omitted anything, but had done these things before having their

hair shaven. The Prophet told them all: "No matter, there is no problem."

A Sunni hadith related from ᶜAmr Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ in the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim* states:

At the Farewell Pilgrimage the Prophet sat on a camel in the land of Minā and waited as the people asked him their questions.

A man came closer to him and asked: "O Messenger of God, I did not know that the 'making permissible by shaving the hair' should not be done before the sacrifice, so I had my hair shaven before sacrificing the animal." The Prophet then said: "Sacrifice it now; there is no problem."

Then another man came and said: "O Messenger of God, I did not know that stoning the pillars had to be done before the sacrifice, and I have not sacrificed an animal yet," and the Prophet said:

إرْمِ وَلَا حَرَجَ ،

("Now go to the stoning; there is no problem").

Then, another man came close and said: "Before stoning the pillars, circumambulated the Holy Kaᶜba," and the Prophet answered him:

إرْمِ وَلَا حَرَجَ

("Now go to the stoning; there is no problem").

When the Prophet was questioned about any part of the rites, he answered:

إفْعَلْ لَا حَرَجَ

("Then do it now; there is no problem").[282]

The second hadith is one that Ahmad Ibn Omar Ibn Anas Odhrī has related through his chains, where Osāmat Ibn Sharīk said:

I was with the Prophet on the Farewell Pilgrimage, and he made a speech saying: "It is your duty to take care of your mother, father, sister, and brother, and then your other relatives and those close to you."

In the meantime some people came saying: "O Messenger of God,

بَوَيْزُوع ،

they seized and held us!" So the Prophet said: "No one should commit a crime against another." After that a man asked about the stoning of the pillars, and the Prophet told him that there was no problem involved. Then another man came close and said: "O Messenger of God, I forgot

to circumambulate," and the Prophet said: "So do it now, and overlook the matter."

After him, another man asked: "I had my hair shaven before the sacrifice," and the Prophet said: "Then sacrifice it now; there is no problem." No matter what they asked him, he would answer: "It matters not, and there is no problem."

He then said:

قَدْ أَذْهَبَ اللهُ الْحَرَجَ إِلَّا رَجُلًا اقْتَرَضَ امْرَءً مُسْلِماً فَذَلِكَ الَّذِي حَرَجَ وَ هَلَكَ. وَ قَالَ: مَا أَنْزَلَ اللهُ دَاءً إِلَّا أَنْزَلَ لَهُ دَوَاءً إِلَّا الْهَرَمَ.[283]

"God removes all difficulties and negativity, unless a man speaks ill behind a believer's back, for that is the only thing where destruction lies."

He also said: "God has created no disease that has no cure, with the exception of old age."

In short, this kind of transposition of particular *ḥajj* rites can happen in two ways. First, by doing so unwittingly, in which case a repetition is considered unnecessary, as related in Jamīl's hadith, since it must be assumed that it was done unawares. The second case is through a lack of knowledge, in which case the hadiths tell us whether or not it is wrong. In the case of the *ḥajj*, one does the best one can. As long as the main elements have been carried out, there is no need to repeat anything. However, one should check that the *ḥajj* is complete before the festival day on the day of sacrifice.[284]

The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days are called "the days of *tashrīq*," because the sun casts its rays on the blood of the animals on the ground, and the nights are called "the nights of *tashrīq*." The eleventh day is known as *yaum al-ru'ūs* or *yaum al-qarr*, because it is then that most of the pilgrims cook the heads of the sacrificed animals and eat them. Then they rest for a while on the day of *nafr*, the day of "setting out." The twelfth day is called *yaum al-akru'*, *yaum al-akārī'*, or *yaum al-nafr al-awwal*, because in Arabic *kurā* means the legs of animals, and it is then that the pilgrims cook and eat the legs. As the pilgrims finish the rites on that day, they return to their homes in Mecca or elsewhere. That day is known as the first day of migration, and the thirteenth day is *yaum al-nafr al-thānī*, when those who have not left the previous day set off.[285] It is mandatory for a pilgrim to remain at Minā on the eleventh and twelfth days unless he is in Mecca for prayer.

As the Prophet's uncle Abbās was taking water to the pilgrims in Mecca, he asked the Prophet to spend the night at Minā.[286] The Prophet let the men taking care of the camels stone the pillars during the day, but not the following day. However, instead of doing it the following day, he allowed them to do it the next night if they wished.[287]

It is related in some hadiths that the Prophet would go to Mecca to worship at night.

The Prophet stayed in the Mosque of al-Khayf at Minā and let the Migrants settle to the right of the mosque and the Helpers to the left. The rest of the people were scattered about the mosque. He was asked to permit the people to build a house for him at Minā, but he refused, saying: "Minā is the stopping place for those who arrive there first."[288]

On the eleventh day, the Prophet stoned the first pillar, then the middle pillar, and finally the last one, throwing seven pebbles at each, and crying out "God is Most Great" with each throw. Before stoning the first and the middle pillars, he turned his face towards Mecca and prayed. But while at the last pillar, he did not do so, but simply stoned it and returned.[289]

Fayz has written in *Maḥajjat al-Bayḍā*: "When stoning the last pillar, one must turn one's face towards Mecca," but this is apparently not true.[290]

On the eleventh day, the Prophet delivered another sermon, warning the people against differences and encouraging them to follow the traditions. In the meantime, he announced that his uncle Abbās had banned drinking alcohol, and forgiven any blood that was shed during the Age of Ignorance, and also spoke well of Rabī'at Ibn Hārith Ibn Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He also put an end to any oppression that had happened during the Age of Ignorance, and commanded the people to respect each other's property. Then, after speaking of the postponement of sacred months, he said:

أَلَا لَا تَرْجِعُوا بَعْدِي كُفَّارًا يَضْرِبُ بَعْضُكُمْ رِقَابَ بَعْضٍ، أَلَا إِنَّ الشَّيْطَانَ قَدْ يَئِسَ إِنْ يُعْبَدَ الْمُصَلُّونَ وَلَكِنَّهُ فِي التَّحْرِيشِ بَيْنَكُمْ.[291]

"After my demise, do not turn to blasphemy, so that some of you behead one another. Be aware that Shaytān has lost hope of the Muslims' worshiping him, but he still hopes to put contention amongst you and create sedition."

Then he spread his arms and said:

مُبَلِّغٍ أَسْعَدُ مِنْ سَامِعٍ، أَلَا هَلْ بَلَّغْتُ، أَلَا هَلْ بَلَّغْتُ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: لِيُبَلِّغِ الشَّاهِدُ الْغَائِبَ فَإِنَّهُ رُبَّ

"Did my voice reach you? Did I convey this to you?" He continued: "Those who are present must take these words to those who are absent, because those who are absent may put these things into practice better than those present here, and may benefit more."

Hamīd reports: "When Hasan heard these words, he said: 'By God, that sermon may reach tribes with more success than those who heard it.'"

Hāfiḍ Abū Bakr Bazzāz said:

> When the words
>
> إِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللهِ وَالْفَتْحُ
>
> were sent down to the Prophet in the land of Minā, he mounted up and stopped close to Aqabah, where so many people gathered around him that God only knows how many there were, and then he began his sermon.

After speaking of many things, such as care for women, returning people's property, respect for the four sacred months, and many other things, he said:

وَلَا يَحِلُّ لِامْرِءٍ مِنْ مَالِ إِخِيهِ إِلَّا مَا طَابَتْ بِهِ نَفْسُهُ

"It is unlawful for anyone to use his brother's property unless his brother also benefits, and is satisfied."

He continued:

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، إِنِّي قَدْ تَرَكْتُ فِيكُمْ مَا إِنْ أَخَذْتُمْ بِهِ لَنْ تَضِلُّوا: كِتَابَ اللهِ فَاعْمَلُوا بِهِ،

"O people! I have left a precious thing with you, and if you take it seriously you will never go astray. It is the Book of God, so act upon it." [292]

Among the sermons he gave before and after the one above is the phrase "my family and Household," and it would surely have been in this one, although it was omitted in the account.

The Prophet gave five sermons altogether during the Farewell Pilgrimage. The first was on seventh of Dhu al-Ḥajja in Mecca, the second in ʿArafāt, the third on the day of the sacrifice, the fourth on the day of *al-qarr* (the eleventh day) at Minā, and the fifth on the day of *al-nafr al-awwal*[293] (the twelfth day), also at Minā.[294]

The Prophet also stayed at Minā on the twelfth and thirteenth nights, and each following morning he stoned the three pillars the same way as before. On the thirteenth day he set out for Mecca at noon.[295]

The thirteenth day is called "the second day of leaving," and the Imam has to stay at Minā until that day, even if the other pilgrims have left Minā by then.

Muᶜammar Ibn ᶜAbdullah Ibn Harātha attended to the Prophet's camel, and put the saddle on its back. When he wanted to mount, the Prophet said: "O Muᶜammar, the saddle is loose, so fasten it properly."

Muᶜammar said: "May my mother and father be your sacrifice! I tied it fast, as I always do, but someone jealous of my service to you has loosened it, to make you change me for another servant!" Then the Prophet said: "I will never do so." [296]

This Muᶜammar is the same person who shaved the hair of the Prophet. While he was busy doing so, some Qurayshis said: "O Muᶜammar, the Prophet's ear is in your hand, and so is the razor!" Muᶜammar responded: "By God, I consider it the greatest blessing for me!" [297]

The Prophet had already established the distance between ᶜArafāt and Mashᶜar, and then he determined the road to Minā from four sides and set out towards Mecca. He left Minā and entered the territory of Muḥaṣṣab (a place at Abṭaḥ, to the east of Mecca, between Mecca and Minā). It is called Muḥaṣṣab because of the small pebbles in that region, and the name Abṭaḥ indicates a place covered with soft sand and pebbles.

Muḥaṣṣab is the very land where the Quraysh and the Banī Kināna signed a contract of hostility towards the Banī Hāshim and Abd al-Muṭṭalib, refusing to take wives from amongst them, and cutting trade and all contact with them until they delivered up Muhammad for them to kill. They therefore call that region the Land of Khayf Banī Kināna.[298] Because of this, the Prophet and the Muslims stayed at the tribal colony of Abī Ṭālib, who supported them with all his means, protecting them and feeding them in the best way.

This went on until it became clear that, by some miracle, the written contract had been destroyed by termites, and all that remained of it was the Name of God

باسمك اللهم

Abū Ṭālib's Poems on the Protection of the Prophet

Abī Ṭālib, the father of Ali, composed an elegant poem on the occasion when the Prophet was staying with him:

واللهِ لَنْ يَصِلُوا إِلَيْكَ بِجَمْعِهِمْ حَتَّى أُوَسَّدَ فِي التُّرَابِ دَفِينَا

فَاصْدَعْ بِأَمْرِكَ مَا عَلَيْكَ غَضَاضَةٌ وَابْشِرْ بِذَاكَ وَقَرَّ مِنْكَ عُيُونَا
وَدَعَوْتَنِي وَعَلِمْتُ أَنَّكَ نَاصِحِي وَلَقَدْ صَدَقْتَ وَكُنْتَ ثَمَّ أَمِينَا
وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ بِأَنَّ دِينَ مُحَمَّدٍ مِنْ خَيْرِ أَدْيَانِ الْبَرِيَّةِ دِينَا[299]

O God, for as long as I am not buried under the dust, they will have no opportunity to find you, no matter how hard they should try.

Proclaim God's invitation! There is no loss, shortcoming, or failure for you! There are glad tidings for you in this proclamation; you are to open eyes afresh and cause the people to be pleased with you!

You lured me to this religion; you invited me. And I know that you gave me your best advice.

Certainly you are honest and right in this invitation, as you have always been honest and trustworthy.

And indeed I knew that the religion of Muhammad was the most stable, and the best of the religions of mankind.

The land of Abṭaḥ is where the Prophet stopped on his trip to Mecca. He did not stay in a house in Mecca, but said that he would rest where he stopped. It was where the Quraysh and Banī Kināna signed their treaty, and the Prophet entered there to celebrate the victory of Islam. He went there both before staying at ʿArafāt and afterwards. That was why on the eve of the thirteenth at Minā, when the people asked the Prophet where he was going the next day, he answered:

نَحْنُ نَازِلُونَ غَداً إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ بِخَيْفِ بَنِي كِنَانَةَ - يَعْنِي الْمُحَصَّبَ[300]

("God willing, we are going to enter the Khayf of Banī Kināna and arrive at Muḥaṣṣab").

The following has been narrated explaining why the Prophet decided to stay at Muḥaṣṣab:

مُرَاغَمَةً لِمَا كَانَ تَمَالَئَ عَلَيْهِ كُفَّارُ قُرَيْشٍ لَمَّا كَتَبُوا الصَّحِيفَةَ مِنْ مُصَارَمَةِ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ وَبَنِي الْمُطَّلِبِ حَتَّى يُسْلِمُوا إِلَيْهِمْ رَسُولَ اللهِ (ص).

It was because of the opposition of Quraysh's cooperation in having written a contract for cutting relations with the Banī Hāshim and Abd al-Muṭṭalib in order to hand over the Prophet to the Quraysh.

It was also in the year of victory, the eighth year of the Migration, that the Prophet conquered Mecca and arrived at Muḥaṣṣab. Therefore, it is recommended that one enter Muḥaṣṣab after staying at ʿArafāt. However, according to Shiʿa hadiths, this tradition is for those who enter Mecca in the second *nafr*, as the Prophet did.[301]

The Prophet's Circumambulations on the Farewell Pilgrimage and His Departure from Mecca

The Prophet made the midday, afternoon, evening, and late evening prayers at Muḥaṣṣab,[302]

فَهَجَعَ هَجْعَةً أَوْ رَقَدَ رَقْدَةً

and then lay down on his back and rested for a short while. Therefore, it is now a tradition that when a pilgrim leaves Minā, he goes to the Mosque of Hasba as the Prophet did, and lies there on his back to rest for a while before leaving for Mecca.

Then the Prophet let the pilgrims enter the Holy House and make their farewell circumambulations and the circumambulations for the women.[303] In the meantime, the Prophet, Ali, the righteous women, Hasan, Husayn, Zaynab, and his other relatives went to the Holy House to circumambulate and worship before the dawn prayer.

Umm Salama, a senior wife of the Prophet, said:

> I felt sick and told the Prophet, and he said: "You can circumambulate the Holy House on your camel, behind the other pilgrims." So I did as the Prophet had told me, and I reached him as he was establishing the prayer by the Holy House with a group of pilgrims. In his prayer, he recited the verses: [304]
>
> وَالطُّورِ وَكِتَابٍ مَسْطُورٍ فِي رَقٍّ مَنْشُورٍ وَالْبَيْتِ الْمَعْمُورِ وَالسَّقْفِ الْمَرْفُوعِ.
>
> *By the Mount, and a scripture inscribed on fine parchment unrolled, and the House frequented, and the canopy raised high* (52:1–5).

After the dawn prayer, the Prophet circumambulated the Holy House, and then stood in front of the

ملتزم

(the place between the Black Stone and the door of the House) and prayed for a while. Then he brought his face and chest near to the

ملتزم

so that his body touched the Kaʿba.[305] After that, he took some Zamzam water.[306] Any time he returned home, particularly from battle, the *ḥajj*, or the *ʿumra*, he would recite

اللهُ أَكْبَرُ اللهُ أَكْبَرُ

three times, and then say:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، لَهُ الْمُلْكُ وَلَهُ الْحَمْدُ، وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ، آيِبُونَ، عَابِدُونَ، سَاجِدُونَ، لِرَبِّنَا حَامِدُونَ، صَدَقَ اللهُ وَعْدَهُ، وَنَصَرَ عَبْدَهُ، وَهَزَمَ الْأَحْزَابَ وَحْدَهُ.

When the Prophet wanted to enter Mecca, he took the upper passageway known as

ثنیه کداء: ثنیه

(pronounced twice), which means a passageway or path leading to the main passage called

کداء.

And when he was leaving Mecca, he went through the lower part, called

ثنیه کدء

and pronounced *kuday*.[307]

The Prophet stayed in Mecca for a total of ten days,[308] arriving there on Sunday, the fifth of Dhi al-Ḥajja, and staying at Abṭaḥ until the following Wednesday, when he left for ʿArafāt. He was at ʿArafāt on that Thursday, which was the Day of ʿArafa, having stayed at Minā the night before.

Then on that Friday, which was the time of the sacrifice, he stayed at Minā again. On Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, he stayed at Minā until midday to pray and fulfil the rites.

On the eve of Tuesday, he was at Abṭaḥ in Mecca, and he went to the Holy House for the dawn prayer, and after circumambulating he left Mecca for Medina early on that Tuesday morning.

The caravan of pilgrims left Mecca, setting out towards Juḥfa and Ghadīr al-Khum, where the guardianship of Ali was announced:

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ الْوَصِيَّ هُوَ الَّذِي آتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَكَانَ فِي الْمِحْرَابِ

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ الْوَصِيَّ هُوَ الَّذِي حُكْمُ الْغَدِيرِ لَهُ عَلَى الْأَصْحَابِ.[309]

Have you not heard that the Successor of the Prophet is the same man who paid out charity when praying at the shrine?

Did you not know that the Successor of the Prophet is the same man whose guardianship and imamate was announced to all the companions of the Prophet?

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من المتمسكين بولايته والحمد لله وحده.

Praise be to God, the One, Who assigned to us his guardianship.

NOTES

[1] Muhammad Ḥusayn Iṣfahānī, known as Company, *Dīvān* (poem collection) (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islamiyyah, 1364 HS), pp. 26–28.
[2] Abdul al-Ḥusayn Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr* (Tehran: Maṭbaᶜat al-Ḥaydari, 1372 AH), vol. 4, p. 41; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, (n. p., Intishārāt Allāmah, n. d.), vol. 1, p. 531.
[3] In *Aᶜyān al-Shiᶜa* by Sayyed Muhammad Amīn (Damascus: Maṭbaᶜat Ibn Zaydun), vol. 11, p. 232, from the second printing of the Ismāʿīl bin Abbād translation, by Abū al-Qāsim, whose epithet is *Kāfi al-Kifāt*, it says that Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl Abbād was born in 326 and died in 385. He was born in Iṣtakhar in Fars, or perhaps Talqān, and resided in Ray. His first discussion was with his teacher Abu al-Faḍl Ibn Amid, and this was why he was given this title. Later on, when he was assigned a post in the ministry, the title remained with him. He was also known as the Minister Muayyid Dawlat Daylamī, and after that Minister Fakhr al-Dawlat. When he died, Abū al-Abbās Zabbī prayed at his coffin, and was nominated as the next minister. It states on page 257 that Majlisī said that he was the most knowledgeable in religious jurisprudence in all the imamate. The second Majlisī records the same thing in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Tehran: Maṭbaᶜat Kompānī, 1302 AH), and this is followed by his father saying that Ṣāḥib was a great man within the imamate. In *Majālis al-Muᶜminin*, Qāḍī Shahīd Sayyid Norullah regards him as a Shiᶜite minister. And Shaykh Ḥurr Āmulī, in his *Amal al-Āmil* considers him to have been an imamate Shiᶜite. Also, Shahīd Thānī has called him "our follower," and in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 47, he says: "Ṣāḥib Ibn Abbād established a big library in the city of Ray that was used by the public. It was when the Sultan of Khorāsān, Mālik Nouh Ibn Mansūr Simānī, had asked him to come to Khorāsān to be in his presence. He insisted on this, and spent a lot of money. Ṣāḥib had replied: 'How can I come there with all my possessions? My books alone are more than 400 camel-loads!'" Abū-al-Hasan Bayhaqī has said in *Muᶜjam al-Udabā*: "There were so many books that they were more than in the Library of the city of Ray, and later on Sultan Mahmūd set fire to them. I have referred to those books, and I know well how many of them were burnt. The indexes of the books comprised ten volumes. When Sultan Mahmūd attacked the city of Ray with his huge army, he was told that these books belonged to the Shiᶜa, Rāfiḍī, and the innovators. So he commanded his men to take all the books containing Shiᶜite ideology and burn them."

According to Bayhaqī, a great many Shiᶜite books were burned, including all those that were in the treasury of Ṣāḥib Ibn Abbād.

Ṣāḥib Ibn Abbād was a great man of literature and an expert in Islamic knowledge and jurisprudence. He should be considered one of the greatest Islamic scholars, and the pride of the Muslims. Among the elegies that were composed upon his death is the following: "The son of Abbād, who was a word of hope for us, has passed away. Thus, one could say that all mankind has passed away. When I was burying you in the grave, I thought I was burying the whole world, for your grave is foremost among graves."

And Waṣī Hamedāni has made a poem on this occasion as follows:

> "[Closing] the eyes" to sleep is forbidden to the eyelids,
> And their tearful [eyes] are shrouded with blood,
> Cry the vizier for the son of Abbād, the great,
> And the religion, the Qur'an and Islam;
> The whole sense and strength cry for him
> The pilgrims, ceremonies, and the pilgrims' garbs do,
> Let the Messenger, the pure, cry for him
> and whatever with him: his attributes and the agate of his,
> The case of his exemplary death is enough for us to bear
> He is the Imam, the master of lions
> The Excellency died, so did the awareness with his death
> So peace be upon the Excellency and the awareness!

[4] Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī, *Ghāyat al-Marām* (Tehran: Maṭba'at Aliqulī Khān Qājār, 1372 AH), section 2, p. 539, 2nd hadith.
[5] Ibid., 3rd hadith.
[6] Ibid., 4th hadith.
[7] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, section 2, p. 539, 5th hadith.
[8] Ibid., 7th hadith.
[9] Ibid., section 2, p. 540, 11th narrative.
[10] Ibid., pp. 540–541, 1st hadith.
[11] Ibid., section 2, p. 541, 2nd hadith.
[12] Ibid., section 2, pp. 541–542, 6th hadith.
[13] Ibid., section 2, p. 542, 8th hadith.
[14] Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Hammād Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Hammād Ibn Adwi is from Basra, and in the contextual translation of *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, pp. 141–171, writes of the Day of Ghadīr. His poems and elegies explain everything clearly and have a great deal of charm, and he could be considered the principal poet of the Household. The poignancy of his words and phraseology can be sensed in his elegies, and they are beautifully set.

These are poems from a broken heart within the Household, telling of the events that befell their innocence, and of an agony that had driven the poet to distraction. He has personalized the story of Karbalā in the best way possible. He lived in the fourth century, and was a contemporary of Shaykh Ṣadūq. Najāshī well understood his talent, and quotes from the book of Abī Ahmad Jalūdī Baṣrī (d. 332 AD).

[15] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 148; Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 531.

[16] Both the جِعرَانَة and جِعْرَانَة dictations and writing styles are considered correct.

[17] Abul Fidā' al-Ḥāfiz Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat* (Egypt: Maṭbaᶜat al-Saᶜāda, 1351 AH), vol. 5, pp. 109–14, and the *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb* quoting Ibn Abbās, vol. 1, p. 121.

[18] The narrator mentions it through his chains from Imam Ṣādiq in *Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 251.

He has narrated that:

اعتمر رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم ثلاث عُمَر مفترقات: عمرة فى ذى القعدة أهَلَّ من عَسفان و هو عمرة الحُدَيبيّة، و عمرة أهَلَّ من الجُحفة و هى عمرة القضاء و عمرة أهَل من الجِعرانَة بعد ما رجع من الطائف من غزوة حنين

"The Messenger of Allah, may the peace of Allah be upon him and his descendants, took three special voluntary pilgrimages (ᶜ*umrats*): one in [the month of] Dhi al-Qaᶜda starting from ᶜAsfān and called ᶜ*Umra al-Ḥadbiyyat*; the next one was from al-Juḥfa called ᶜ*Umra al-Qaḍā*; and the third one from al-Jᶜarānat, which was after returning from al-Ṭā'if, from the Battle of Ḥunayn. The hadith related in Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 666, from the *Khisāl* of Ṣadūq and Ṭūsī's *al-Amālī* that quotes Ibn Abbās as saying: "The Messenger of God has performed four minor pilgrimages, and one of them is considered to be his main *ḥajj*," cannot be accurate, and is unreliable.

[19] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 109.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibn al-Saᶜd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1376 AH), vol. 2, p. 173.

[22] Abul Faraj Ali Ibn Burhā al-Dīn Ḥalabi al-Shāfiᶜī, *Insān al-ᶜUyūn fī Sirat al-Amir al-Ma'mūn*, known as *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya* (Egypt: Maṭbaᶜat Muhammad Ali Ṣabiᶜ, 1351 AH), vol. 3, p. 289.

[23] *al-Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 121.

[24] Yaᶜqūb al-Kulaynī, *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1381 HS), vol. 4, p. 244; *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, p. 209.
[25] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 245.
[26] A *miʾāzam* is a narrow path between two mountains; hence the narrow course between ᶜArafāt and Mashᶜar is called Miʾāzamayn.
[27] Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *ᶜIlal al-Sharāyiᶜ* (Najaf: n. p., n. d.), vol. 2, p. 450.
[28] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 251–252.
[29] This is verified in *Shadhrāt al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, p. 13.
[30] *Sīra al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 289. It is also briefly explained in *Nihāyah* of Ibn Kathīr, vol. 5, p. 109.
[31] This is mentioned in *Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 249, where Imam Ṣādiq states:

ذكر رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و آله وسلّم الحجّ، فكتب إلى من بلغه كتابه ممّن دخل في الاسلام أنّ رسول الله يريد الحجّ يوذّنهم بذلك، ليحجّ من أطاق الحجّ.

[32] Faḍl Ibn Hasan Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Ṣaysā: Maṭbaᶜat al-Irfān, 1333 AH), vol. 4, p. 80.
[33] Muhammad Hussein Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Tafsīr al-Mīzān* (n. p.: Islamiyya, 1386 AH), vol 14, p. 404.
[34] To encourage the deprived and abject to make the journey, the Prophet said at the time of deprture:

عُمرَةٌ فِي رَمَضَانَ تَعدِلُ حِجَّةً أوْ قَالَ: حجّة معي

"The *ᶜumra* in the month of Ramaḍān has the reward of the *ḥajj* or making the *ḥajj* with me." He said this to Umm Sanān, an Anṣārī woman, because when she was asked: "Why did you not come on the *ḥajj* with us?" she answered: "We have only two water-carrier camels, and my husband and son took one of them for their journey on the *ḥajj*, and I need the other to carry water from the well to our farm." The Prophet said the same thing to Umm Sālim, Umm Ṭalq, and Umm Haytham (*Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 289).
[35] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 289.
[36] Mir Khān Balkhī, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā* (Manuscript), vol. 2, at the beginning of the story of *Ḥajjat al-Widāʿ*.
[37] Ghiyās Ibn Huām al-Dīn Ḥusaynī Khānd Mir, *Ḥabīb al-Sīyar* (n. p.: Khayyām, 1333 AH), vol. 1, p. 409.
[38] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 288.
[39] Sayyed Ahmad Zaynī Daḥlān, *Sīrat al-Nabawīyya* (published on annotation of *Sirat al-Ḥalabiyya*), vol. 3, p. 1.

[40] Actually the correct spelling term is *Ḥajjit al-Islām*, with the vowel sign below the letter ح', and it denotes the aspect of quality, and what is customarily used in conversation with the vowel sign above the letter ح is not accurate. But following other people, we use it here as well.

[41] In a footnote in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, page 9, Allāma Amīnī mentions that he thinks the term *Ḥajjat al Widā'* is spoken of as *Ḥajjat al-Balāgh* in order to correspond with God's words:

يَاأَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ.

Similarly, it is named as

حجة التمام الكمال

because of this verse:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي.

[42] See Sayyed Ahmad Zaynī Daḥlān's annotation on *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 4.

[43] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 105.

[44] *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2. This was in the tenth year after the Migration, and mentions the care Ali took. See also *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, 408.

[45] The same virtues have been narrated in *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām vol. 4, p. 1019. The author says:

وَبَعَثَ عَلِيَّ بن أبي طالب رضوان الله عليه إلى أهل نجران ليجمع صَدَقَتَهُم، ويَقْدم عليه بجزيتهم

"...and he appointed and sent Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib to the people of Najrān to collect their voluntary alms to the poor and award them for return. And Ṭabarī has mentioned this item in his *Tārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 147; see also *Sirat al-Ḥalabiyya*, vol. 3, pp. 232–233.

[46] According to the *Tārīkh Yaᶜqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 79, Buraydat Ibn Ḥuṣayb Aslamī was the chief of the Aslam tribe.

[47] Ibn Athīr Jazari, *Kāmil al-Tawārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1385 AH), vol. 2, p. 300; Muhammad Ibn Nuᶜmān al-Baqdādi (Shaykh Mufīd), *al-Irshād fī Maᶜrifat Ḥujaj ᶜalal-ᶜIbād* (manuscript), 23; Abū Ali Faḍl Ibn Hasan Ṭabarsī, *Iᶜlām al-Warā* (Beirut: Dār al-Maᶜrifa, 1399 AH), p. 137.

[48] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 663.

[49] Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 169–170.

[50] Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (n. p.: Dār al-Maᶜārif, n. d.), vol. 3, p. 148; Abdul Mālik Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrat al-Nabawīyya* (*Sīra Ibn Hishām*), vol. 4, p. 1020; Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 173; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, 289; and *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 111.

[51] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 111, from Bukhārī, Muslim, and Sanā'i, quoting Abū Qalaba from Anas, and also from Aḥmad quoting Ibrāhīm Ibn Maisarah from Anas.

[52] *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1020; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 110; *Sīrat Zaynī Daḥlān*, vol. 3, p. 3.

[53] Ish'ār indicates that the right side of the hump of the camel was bleeding, and in *Qirān* the sandals that the men wore were to be tied together and hung around the neck of the camel, cow, or sheep.

[54] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 117–120.

[55] *Furū' al-Kāfī*, vol 4, p. 250; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 292; see also *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol.2.

[56] Asmā', the daughter of 'Omays Khuth'amiyya, was one of the great respectable women in Islam. She was maternal sister of Maymūna, the wife of the Prophet. In the second year of Hijira (immigration) she was married Ja'far Ibn Abī Ṭālib; and then after immigrating to Abyssinia, she gave birth to three children: 'Abdullah , 'Awn, and Muhammad. She returned to Medina with Ja'far in year seven after Hijira. Her husband, Ja'far, was martyred in the battle of Mūta in year eight after Hijira; and then she married Abū Bakr and gave birth to a son, Muhammad. And after Abū Bakr, Ali, the Master of the Faithful married her, and she produced a child called Yaḥyā (see Ibn Abd al-Birr in *Isti'āb*, vol. 4, p. 1785). Also in *Isti'āb*, vol. 4, p. 1897, while translating the condition of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet, it says that the Holiness Fāṭimah advised Asmā': "When I pass away, you and Ali perform my final ritual washing! Do not let anyone get closer to my corpse." Then when she died, 'Āyisha went closer to help, but Asmā' said: "Do not interfere!" 'Āyisha went to Abū Bakr and complained against her, saying: "This daughter of Khuth'amiyya prevented me from taking part in the preparation of the Prophet's daughter!" Abū Bakr went outside and stood in front of the gate calling out: "O Asmā', why do you not allow the wives of the Messenger to help you in the preparation of the corpse?!" Asmā' said: "Fāṭimah has advised me not to let anyone come upon her corpse!" Abū Bakr returned home and said [to his daughter]: "Do listen to what she says!" Then Ali and Asmā' performed her final legal washing.

[57] In *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 662, where there are two hadiths concerning this from *Kāfī*. See also *I'lām al-Warā*, p. 665.

[58] *Furū' al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 444, according to Imam Ṣādiq.

[59] *Furū' al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 449, according to Imam Bāqir.

[60] *I'lām al-Warā*, p. 138.

[61] Abul Faraj Abdul Raḥmān al-Jauzī, *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Kaylāni, 1976), vol. 2, p. 209; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* vol. 2, p. 177; *Furūʿ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 250.

[62] Burhān al-Dīn Ḥalabi al-Shāfiʿī mentions this in *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 112–113; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 290; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 177.

[63] Ibid.

[64] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 293.

[65] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 113.

[66] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 293.

[67] However, it was Yalyal rather than Yalamlam according to the *Muʿjam al-Buldān*. Yalamlam is the appointed place for the *ḥajj* for the people of Yemen, about two nights' walk from Mecca. However, Yalyal is the name of a village near Ṣafrāʾ, one of the suburbs of Medina. Sharaf al-Siyyala is situated between Malyal and Rawḥā, ʿIrq al-Zubyā is in between Mecca and Medina, and Rawḥā is also between Mecca and Medina. Munṣaraf is between Mecca and Badr, and the distance between them is four stops. Athāya is on the way to Juḥfa, twenty-five miles from Medina. ʿArj is a pass between Mecca and Medina on the route of the pilgrims, and is remembered as Suqyā. Juḥfa is a village on the way to Mecca, with four places to rest, at a distance of six miles from Medina. The distance between there and Ghadīr al-Khum is two miles. Soqya is a village in the suburb of Furʿ, nineteen miles from Juḥfa. Abwāʾ is a hamlet twenty-three miles from Medina. Qudayd is near Mecca, and Osfān is between Juḥfa and Mecca. Ghamim and Kurāʾ al-Ghamim are both between Mecca and Medina, and between Rābuq and Juḥfa. Zahrān is a land near Mecca, and there is a village there called Marr, which is therefore known as Marru al-Zahrān. Siraf is six miles from Mecca. About the above-mentioned places, see *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*. It seems that Mutaʿashshi is not the name of a place, but is derived from the word تَعشّ, which means "a place where food is eaten."

[68] In Arabic, *hijām* is the part of a bridle that rests on the head of a horse or camel when it is harnessed, and includes the metal bit for the mouth, so that the animal does not bite if it gets excited.

[69] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 9 and 19; Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Ali al-Miqrīzī, *al-Imtāʿ al-Ismāʾ* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlif wa al-Tarjuma, 1041), pp. 513–517.

[70] Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* vol. 2, p. 173; *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1020.
[71] *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1020; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 164.
[72] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 292; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 164.
[73] Moḥaṣṣab is a place between Mecca and Medina and close to Minā. Bathāʾ, Mecca, Khayf, and Banī Kenāya are equidistant from Hajūn and Minā. See *Muʿjam al-Buldān*.
[74] Tanʿīm is located outside the Shrine, between Mecca and Sarif, which is two miles from Mecca. See *Muʿjam al-Buldān*.
[75] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 306; Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ali al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kubrā*, known as *Sunana-i Bayhaqī* (Haydar Abad, India: Majlis Dāʾrat al-Maʿārif al-Nizāmiyya, 1344 AH), vol. 5, p. 95.
[76] It is related in *Kāmil al-Tawārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 164, that the Prophet told him to make the *ʿumra* for the sake of ease, as it says in the hadith.
[77] *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1020; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 148; *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, 189; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 666; cf. *Furūʿ al-Kāfī*.
[78] It states in *Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 109, that when the Prophet caught sight of the Kaʿba, he raised his hands as high as the front of the saddle, and circumambulated before praying.
[79] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 73; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 294; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 152; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 173.
[80] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 74; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 294; *Furūʿ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 250.
[81] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 75; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 155.
[82] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 294; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 159. In *al-Bidāyat*, it says : "Do not chant *takbīr*, but pass by."
[83] Concerning this verse, it is mentioned in the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* that during the Age of Ignorance, when the Anṣār wanted to make the pilgrimage, as part of the rites, they would recite the *talbīya* before the idols of Asāf and Nāʾila, and then go to Ṣafā and Marwa and run between them. It was then that God sent down this verse. Some have said that the reason for the revelation of this verse was that during the Age of Ignorance the Anṣār began their pilgrimage rites by the idol of Qanat, but would not then run between Ṣafā and Marwa. But when the Anṣār embraced Islam, they asked the Prophet whether they should run between Ṣafā and Marwa or not, and the verse was revealed:

ان الصفا والمروه من شعائر الله.

See *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 295.

[84] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 295; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 160; and *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 249.

[85] The area of Ṣafā and Marwa is now called Masᶜā, and at the time of the Prophet a part of it ran deep with water like a river, and was lower than the surrounding land. This was where the Prophet ran.

[86] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, pp. 93–94; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 295; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 160; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 1, p. 2 (including the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage); *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, 209–210.

[87] In *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 248–249, it is narrated from Imam Ṣādiq:

وأحرم الناس كلهم بالحج لا ينوون عمره ولا يدرون ما المتعة.

[88] In *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 295, from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, it is narrated that:

انّ الصفا والمروه من شعائر الله فمن حجّ البيت أو اعتمر فلا جناح ان يطوف بهما.

In the Age of Ignorance, when the Anṣār wanted to make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, they would recite the *talbīya* in front of the idols of Asāf and Nailat, before going to run between Ṣafā and Marwa as part of their rites, and then they shaved their heads. It was then that God sent down this verse. Some have said that the reason for the revelation of this verse was that during the Age of Ignorance the Anṣār began the pigrimage rites by the idol of Qanat, and that whoever began from there would not run between Ṣafā and Marwa. Then, when the Anṣār embraced Islam, they asked the Prophet whether or not they should run between Ṣafā and Marwa, and this verse was revealed:

انّ الصفا والمروه من شعائر الله

[89] In *ᶜIlal al-Sharāyiᶜ*, page 414, in a hadith from Fuḍayl Ibn ᶜAyāḍ speaking to Imam Ṣādiq, it is related that when the Prophet had finished the circumambulations and was at Marwa, Gabriel came down and instructed him to regard his pilgrimage as the *ᶜumra* unless he had with him an animal to sacrifice, because he would not be bound to remain in the state of *muḥrim*, as God has stated:

حتّى يبلغ الهدى محلّه.

The Arabs of the Age of Ignorance did not like to perform the *ʿumra* together with the *ḥajj*, and this was why it seemed unpleasant to some of the companions to change their *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra*. The main reason was that they never made the *ʿumra* in the *ḥajj* season. Fuḍayl asked if Islam had kept any of the customs of the Age of Ignorance, and the Imam told him that the people of the Age of Ignorance had completely abandoned the traditions of the Prophet Abraham other than circumcism, lawful marriage, and the *ḥajj* pilgrimage, which had remained unspoiled.

[90] *Ḥabīb al-Sīyar*, vol. 1, p. 409; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2; *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216.

[91] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 295; *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 95.

[92] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 296; *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saʿd*, vol. 2, pp. 187–188; and *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 95.

[93] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 296.

[94] *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā* (Egypt: Maṭbaʿat al-Nahḍat al-Misriyya, 1968), vol. 1, 210. See also Mohammad Hussein Haykal, *Hayāt al-Mohammad*, pp. 460–461, as follows:

ثمّ نادى محمّد فى الناس أن لا يبق على احرامه من لا هدى معه يخرمه و تردّد بعضهم فغضب النّبيّ لهذا التّردد أشدّ الغضب و قال: ما آمركم به فافعلوه، و دخل قبّته مغضباً فسألته عائشة: من أغضبك؟ فقال: و ما لى لا أغضب و أنا آمر أمراً فلا يتبع، و دخل أحد أصحابه و ما يزال غضبان، فقال: من أغضبك يا رسول الله، أدخله الله النار، فكان جواب الرّسول: أو ما شعرت أنّى أمرت الناس بأمر فاذا هم فيه يترّددون؟ و لو أنى استقبلت من أمرى ما استدبرت ما سقت الهدى معى حتّى اشتريه، ثمّ احلّ كما حلّوا، كذلك روى مسلم. فلمّا بلغ المسلمين غضب رسول الله حلّ الالوف فى الناس احرامهم على أسف منهم.

[95] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 296; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 166.

[96] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 297; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 166; *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saʿd*, vol. 2, p. 188; *ʿIlal al-Sharāyiʿ*, p. 414, in which it states that Surāfa said: "O Prophet, let us know about our religion and how we were created at the beginning." See also *Furūʿ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 249; and *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 95.

[97] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 297; *al-Wafā bi Ahwal al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, p. 210.

[98] *Iʿlām al-Warā*, p. 138; *ʿIlal al-Sharāyiʿ*, p. 413; *Furūʿ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, pp. 246 and 249.

[99] Mufīd, *Irshād*, pp. 94–95; See also *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 8, p. 664; cf. *ʿIlal al-Sharāyiʿ* and *Irshād*.

[100] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 166.

[101] Ibid.; It is mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saʿd*, vol. 2, p. 175 as below:

فَلبست القمص وسطعت المجامر ونكحت النساء.

[102] In Shaykh Ṣadūq's *ʿUyun Akhbār Riḍā* (manuscript, 1275), vol. 2, p. 84, through documents from Mūsā bin Jaʿfar, it is related: "In fact, Ali did not return to Mecca after God had him emigrate from it until He ordered him. He asked why. He replied that it was because he disliked returning and staying in the city he had emigarated from. In anther version, it is narrated that it was because he disliked returning and staying in the city that the Prophet had emigerated from.

This narrative is mentioned in *ʿIlal al-Sharāyiʿ*, p. 452, but with only the expression *qad hājara minhā Rasūl Allah* (Indeed, the Prophet set out with him as well). In the *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 112, it states: "When the Prophet's *ḥajj* rites were finished and he set out from Minā towards Mecca, he did not enter Mecca, so when his companions asked him to settle at some place there, he said:

لو نزلت يا رسول الله بعض منازلك؟ قال: ما كنت لانزل بلداً أخرجت منه.

"I will not enter any house in that town from which I have been expelled."

[103] It is mentioned in *Irshād* of Mufīd that when the Prophet said to Imam Ali:

بم أهللت يا علي؟ قال له: يا رسول الله إنك لم تكتب لي إهلالك ولا عرفتنيه فقدت نيتي بنيتك قلت: اللهم إهلالا كإهلال نبيك.

it is understood that the Prophet had already sent a letter to Imam Ali; otherwise he would not have mentioned it to him.

[104] *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1021; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 297; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 167; *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, pp. 148 and 149; *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 2, p. 210; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 4, p. 410; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2, chapter of *Ḥajjat al-Widāʿ*; *Furūʿ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 249.

[105] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 297; the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saᶜd, vol. 2, p. 188; *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 302; and *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 290.

[106] *Sira Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1021; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 149.

[107] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 166–167; *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 2, 211.

[108] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 248; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 4, p. 188; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 303.

[109] *ᶜIlal al-Sharāyiᶜ*, p. 413; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 297; and *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 249.

[110] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 247.

[111] *Irshād* of Mufid, p. 93; *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 248; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 663.

[112] *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, p. 211. In *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 410, it states that Ali returned from Yemen and presented the camels he had with him to the Prophet.

[113] *Iᶜlām al-Warā*, p. 138; *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 250; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 188; *Tārikh al-Yaᶜqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 109; *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, p. 214.

[114] *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1021; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 296; *Iᶜlām al-Warā*, p. 138; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 4, p. 410; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2, chapter of *Ḥajjat al-Widāᵓ*.

[115] In the *Tadhkira Sibt Ibn al-Juzī*, page 14, it mentions Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal in *Faḍāᵓil* relating through his chain from Bint ᶜUmays saying: "I heard the Prophet say: 'O God, I say the same as my brother Moses said. Assign Ali from my family as my minister, and make him a partner in my affairs, to praise You more and mention You the most.'"

[116] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 5, p. 297; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 168.

[117] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 106, and vol. 5, pp. 208–209; and *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 149.

[118] *Irshād* of Mufid, p. 94.

[119] *Iᶜlām al-Warā*, p. 138.

[120] *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1022; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 209.

[121] *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 301; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 209. In Sulaymān Ibn Ibrāhīm Qundūzī Ḥanafi's *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddat* (Istanbul: Maṭbaᶜat Akhtar, 1301), p. 216, there is the same, extracted from Ahmad Ḥanbal, who has narrated from Kaᶜb Ibn ᶜUjra: "Ali is strong in the Essence of God [God's order]." Abū Omar, too, has this hadith, stating: "He is a fearless man of courage."

[122] *Tārikh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, vol. 3 (Dar al-Maᶜārif), p. 149; Ḥāfiz Ali Ibn Abibakr Haythamī, *Majmᶜal-Zawāᵓid wa Manbaᶜ al-Fawāᵓid* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Arabi, 1967), vol. 9, p. 129.

[123] Abū Naᶜīm Ahmad Ibn ᶜAbdullah Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilliyat al-Awliyā* (Egypt: Maṭbaᶜat al-Saᶜādah, 1351 AH), vol. 1, p. 68. See also the 2nd hadith of Shāh Walī Allah Dihlavī in his *Izālat al-Khifāᵓ an Khilāfat al-Khulafāᵓ* (Lahore: Suhayl Press, 1396) p. 265, narrated from Ḥākim; the 3rd hadith from Haythamī in *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāᵓid*, vol. 9, p. 103 and *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, p. 1022.

[124] Ḥusayn Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Abu al-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rūḥ al-Jinān fi Tafsīr al-Qurᵓan*, known as *Tafsīr Abu al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2 (Tehran: Ṭabᵓ Islamiyyah, 1378 AH), pp. 190–191.

[125] *Tārikh al-Damishq*, vol. 1, pp. 387–388, hadith 493.

[126] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 106.

[127] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat* , vol. 5, p. 168.

[128] Mufīd, *Irshād*, pp. 93–94.

[129] The apostasy of Abū Ibn Maᶜdī Karab happened after he had caught sight of Abū Athᶜath Khathᶜamī, the murderer of his father, in Medina. He apprehended him and dragged him to the Prophet, that he might punish him. The Prophet said:

أهدَرَ الإسلام ما كان في الجاهلية

"Islam does not consider the blood that was shed during the Age of Ignorance. Now that Abū Athᶜath has embraced Islam, we cannot punish him for what he did before." On hearing this, Abū Ibn Maᶜdī Karab abandoned Islam. See *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, pp. 134 and 403; and *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2, which mentions Imam Ali going to Yemen.

[130] *Iᶜlāmi al-Warā*, pp. 134–135; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, p. 404; and *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2, which mentions Imam Ali going to Yemen.

[131] *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 170; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, pp. 232–233.

[132] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 104.

[133] Mufīd, *Irshād*, pp. 85–87.

[134] Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī* (Najaf: Lithography, n. d.), vol. 1, p. 157.
[135] Ibn al-ᶜAsākir, *Tārikh al-Damishq* (the book of Amir al-Muʾminīn) (Beirut: Dār Taʾāruf, 1395), pp. 365–366.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., pp. 366–367.
[139] Ibid., p. 368.
[140] Ibid., p. 366.
[141] Ibid., pp. 366 and 367.
[142] Ibid., p. 367.
[143] Ibid., p. 369. See also Haythamī, *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 128.
[144] Ibid., p. 370.
[145] Ibid., p. 371. See also *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 8, pp. 128–129; Shaykh Ṭūsī's *Amālī*.
[146] *Tārīkh al-Damishq*, pp. 372–375.
[147] Ibid., p. 375.
[148] Ibid., pp. 376–377.
[149] Ibid., pp. 377–378. See also *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 127.
[150] *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 128.
[151] *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saᶜd*, vol. 2, p. 169. See also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 300–301, where Imam Ali was sent to Yemen to spread Islam and collect charity and taxes.
[152] *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 129. He also reports that Ahmad Ḥanbal and Ṭabrānī have related a brief version of this hadith. See also *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 104–105; Sibṭ Ibn Juzī, *Tadhkira al-Khawāṣ al-Ummah* (Iran: lithography, 1287 AH), p. 26.
[153] *Majmaᶜ al-Zawāʾid*, vol. 9, p. 129. He also says that Bazzāz narrated this hadith.
[154] This is from verse 37 chapter 5, where there are admonitions for those who have a heart or lend an ear as a witness.
[155] Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr* (n. p.: Dār al-Maᶜrifa, 1404 AH), vol. 1, p. 215.
[156] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216.
[157] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 217. Ibn Saᶜd has narrated a similar hadith from Jābir in *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 187.
[158] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216.
[159] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 89.
[160] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 89.

[161] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 90; *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216.
[162] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 92.
[163] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 217 and vol. 2, p. 90.
[164] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 91.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Vol. 1, p. 216.
[167] Vol. 5, p. 166.
[168] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 298.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 93. In the *Shiᶜa wa Islām* vol. 2, p. 19, in a footnote, Sibṭ says Abū al-Fidā' in his *History*, vol. 2, p. 39, says that Maᶜmūn Abbāsi said

متعتان كانتا محلّلتين

to Omar. Jāḥiz also, in *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, vol. 2, p. 23, attributes this sentence to Omar.
[172] Vol. 1, p. 214.
[173] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 296; *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saᶜd*, vol. 2, pp. 178–188; *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 95.
[174] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 91.
[175] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216: *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 94.
[176] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 91
[177] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 2, pp. 90–91.
[178] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216; *Tafsīr al-Mizān*, vol. 2, p. 96.
[179] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, p. 216.
[180] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al Balāgha* (n. p.: Dar-i Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, 1378 AH), vol. 1, p. 194.
[181] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 1, pp. 216–217.
[182] Muhammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', *Aṣl al-Shiᶜa wa Uṣūluhā* (Cairo: n. p., 1377 AH), p. 178.
[183] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 166.
[184] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. pp. 51–69; *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saᶜd*, vol. 2, p. 173.
[185] Ibid., vol. 5, p. 169.
[186] Ibid., vol. 5, p. 169.
[187] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 170.

[188] Namīra was a region near ᶜArafāt. It is said by Tāʾif in *Muᶜjam al-Buldān* that the distance from there to the Holy House is about seven miles.

[189] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 170; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 289; and *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, p. 211.

[190] In *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 289, it is related by Ibn Jauzī that the Prophet had made so many *ḥajj* pilgrimages before and after being elected as a prophet that they are beyond count. This means that he had stayed at ᶜArafāt before he was a prophet, and from there he had set out for Muzdalifa, which the Quraysh would not normally do, since they would remain in the sacred precinct, saying: "We are the Children of Abraham, and we are the custodians of Mecca and have to seclude ourselves there. No other Arabs have this distinction." They believed that if they left the Shrine for ᶜArafāt, then the others would humiliate them, and therefore they would lose their respect. They kept saying: "We are stable, dignified, and brave people." Even though the people would have liked to see the Quraysh going to ᶜArafāt, they avoided going there, and from there moving on to Muzdalifa.

[191] The name قصواء, Qaṣwāʾ, pronounced either way, but with an upper vowel-sign, is correct, and therefore Qaṣwāʾ with an "o" sound is wrong. Also, this camel was different from other camels. Some have taken the word as a proper noun, but this is incorrect. See *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 298.

[192] *al-Kāmil* of Ibn Athīr has narrated many of these sentences. See vol. 2, p. 302.

[193] In *Sīra Ibn Hishāmı*, vol. 10, p. 1023 it states:

كتاب الله وسنّة نبيّه

and in *Tārīkh al-Yaᶜqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 111:

كتاب الله وعترتي أهل بيتي.

Therefore, it is definitely in all the narratives as:

عترتي أهل بيتي

but has been omitted in the final printing. In *Sīra Ibn Hishāmı*, it has been changed to

وسنّة نبيّه.

[194] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 170; *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 1022–1023; *Sira al-Ḥalabiyya*, vol. 3, pp. 298–299; and *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 668, extracted from the *ManTaqī* and *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2, on the Farewell Pilgrimage; *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, pp. 150–151; *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, p. 212; and *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 302. In addition, Mohammad Hussein Haykal mentions it in *Hayāt al-Mohammad* (*The Life of Mohammad*), pp. 461–463.

[195] The Arabic states:

ضَرْباً غَيْرَ مُبَرِّحٍ: بَرَّحَ به الامْرُ: أتعبه وجَهدَ وأذاه أذىً شَديداً.

[196] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat* vol. 5, p. 171; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 2, p. 299 and vol. 3, p. 300; *Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Sa'd*, vol. 2, p. 183.

[197] A good and reliable proof of this is in *Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Sa'd*, vol. 3, p. 183, where the Prophet states in the sermon:

إنَّ الله قَسَّم لكُلِّ إنسانٍ نصيبَهً من الميراث، فلا يَجوزُ لوارثٍ وصيَّة

"Indeed, God has assigned for everyone a share from the inheritance that is left behind. Therefore, it is unnecessary for someone to write a will for a certain heir, because it damages the inheritance of the other heirs. However, if a will does not damage their rights, there is no objection to assigning one third of the wealth in a will.

[198] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 171; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 2, p. 299.

[199] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 172.

[200] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 300; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 173–175.

[201] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 300; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 173–175.

[202] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 301. They urinated there because the stone for idols used to be cut from the mountain there.

[203] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 180.

[204] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 301.

[205] Vol. 5, p. 187.

[206] In Arabic, the adjectival term بغلة شهباء means a white mule with black spots.

[207] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 302.

[208] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat* has another hadith.

[209] These parts of the sermon have been taken from the *Majālis* of Shaykh Mufīd, pp. 100–101, where he has replaced the phrase

نَصَرَ الله

with

نَصر الله .

He also mentions the clause

وَالنَّصِيحَةَ لائِمَّةِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَاللُّزُومَ لِجَماعَتِهِم

but follows it with

المؤمنون إخوة تتكافى دِمائُهُمْ وَهُمْ يَدٌ وَاحِدٌ عَلى مَنْ سِواهُمْ يَسْعى بِذِمَّتِهِمْ أَدْناهُمْ.

Rawḍat al-Biḥār, vol. 17, p. 39, from the *Majālis*, also has this phrase. However, in another edition, the phrase is given as

نَصَّرَ الله .

Also, in *Tuḥaf al-ʿUqūl*, p. 42, the sermon is said to have been delivered by the Prophet in the Mosque of Khīf, but it is recorded the same as in the *Majālis*. In *Biḥār al-Anwār*, pp. 17 and 42, quoting from *Tuḥaf al-ʿUqūl*, the word نَصر is used. And also in vol. 77, p. 146, of *Tuḥaf al-ʿUqūl*, it is given as نَصَّرَ. In *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 15, part 2, p. 85, from the *Ikmāl al-Dīn* of Ṣadūq, نَصَّر is mentioned, but has the same meaning as Mufīd's with small differences in some words. Also, Muḥaddith Qumī, in *Tatimmat al-Muntahā*, p. 153, relates the Prophet's sermon in the Khīf Mosque as it is in the *Ikmāl al-Dīn*. *Tafsīr fi Ḍilāl al-Qurʾan*, p. 125, has the first part from Ahmad Ḥanbal, with the sentence

الْمُسْلِمُونَ تَتَكافَأُ دِماؤُهُمْ وَهُمْ يَدٌ عَلَى مَنْ سِوَاهُمْ يَسْعى بِذِمَّتِهِمْ أَدْناهُمْ

and the meaning of all the parts is: "The value of the blood of the believers is the same. All Muslims are united against outsiders, and the smallest group of them can encounter them all." Concerning the hadith

ذِمَّةُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَاحِدَةٌ يَسْعى بِها أَدْناهُمْ

it is mentioned in *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn* that Imam Ṣādiq was asked about its meaning, and he answered: "If an army of Muslims besiege a group of unbelievers, and then one of them comes closer to say: 'Let me meet your army chief and have a word with him,' in such a case, if the meanest one among the army permits him, then the highest in the army must be loyal to him."

Based on this, Zaynab, the daughter of the Prophet, gave security to her husband, Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who was a pagan, when he entered Medina. See Dr. Bint al-Shāṭī, *Zaynab Baṭalat Karbalā*.

[210] *Tārīkh Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 209–212. This hadith has been narrated with minor differences in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, pp. 234–235, taken from Ahmad Ḥanbal, and in part by Ibn Mardawayh from Abū Ḥamzah Raqāshī, quoting his uncle, who was one of the companions and the Prophet's camel driver. The original copy of this hadith is in the *Musnad* of Ahmad Ḥanbal, vol. 5, p. 73. Majlisī has narrated it in *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, pp. 662–663, quoting the *Kāfī*. It has also been mentioned in *Sīra Ibn Hishām*, vol. 4, pp. 1022–1024, but the phrase *kitāb Allah wa ʿitrat nabīyyī* has been changed to *kitāb Allah wa sunnat nabīyyih*. Similarly, it is found in *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 194–201, through various chains. Bayhaqī also has it in the *Sunan*, vol. 5, in the section on the pilgrimage, p. 140. Ibn Jauzī relates it in *al-Wafā bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 1, pp. 207–208, and Ibn Saʿd has it in *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, pp. 183–187. It is also in *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2, in the section on the Farewell Pilgrimage. *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm* has included it after the verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

pp. 159–161. Ṭabarī relates it in *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, vol. 3, pp. 150–152; and Jāḥizī in *al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn* (Cairo: n. p., 1367 AH), vol. 2, pp. 33–33.

[211] In the *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 2, p. 139, Ibn Athīr states in the section دَوَر that in the hadith

إِنَّ الزَّمَانَ قَدِ اسْتَدَارَ كَهَيْئَةِ يَوْمِ خَلَقَ اللهُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالأَرْضَ

the phrase

دَارَ يَدُورُ وَاسْتَدَارَ يَسْتَدِيرُ

means circling and returning to the starting point. Therefore, the hadith means that it was a custom of the Arabs to replace the month of Muḥarram with Ṣafar in order to fight in Muḥarram, and

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indicates that they did so year after year. Therefore, Muḥarram would always move each year to the next month. But when the Prophet made the *ḥajj*, Muḥarram had gone full circle and returned to its proper time.

[212] *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 29.
[213] Abū al-Saᶜūd, *Irshād al-ᶜAql al-Sālim ilā Mazāyā al-Kitāb al-Karīm*, known as *Tafsīr Abū al-Saᶜūd* (Riyadh: Manshūrāt Maktabat al-Riyadh al-Haditha, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 548.
[214] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 236; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 286.
[215] Quoting Suyūṭī in the *Mazhar*, Allāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī has related in *al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 287, that before the advent of Islam, the Arabs called the month of Muḥarram "Ṣafar," and said it was "the first Ṣafar." Then they called the actual month of Ṣafar "the second Ṣafar." Then, as with the two Rabīᶜs and two Jamādīs, there were two Ṣafars.

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would occur in the first Ṣafar, and would not extend to the second Ṣafar. But when Islam became established, to respect the first Ṣafar, which had lost its position and value, they called it "Shahr Allah al-Muḥarram." Then, because of overuse, it was renamed "Muḥarram," and the month of Ṣafar was specified as the second Ṣafar. So Muḥarram is Islamic, and is used as a proper noun.
[216] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 237; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 287.
[217] Ibid.
[218] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 237; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 289.
[219] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 234; Abū ᶜAbdullah Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal Shaybānī, *al-Musnad Ahmad Ḥanbal*, vol. 5, p. 37.
[220] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 234; *al-Musnad Ahmad Ḥanbal*, vol. 5, p. 37.
[221] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 234.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.
[224] *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 237; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 288.
[225] *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 9, p. 288.
[226] Here, the leap year is calculated upon the difference between the solar and lunar years, then adding the extra days at the end of the lunar year.
[227] Fakhr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Kabīr Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb* (Egypt: Dār al-Ṭibāᶜat al-Āmirat, n. d.), vol. 4, p. 633.
[228] *Tafsīr al-Kabīr Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 4, pp. 637–638.
[229] *Tafsīr Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 4, pp. 638–639.

[230] Abū Rayḥān Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Birūnī Khārazmī was one of the greatest scholars of Islam and lived in the fourth and fifth centuries. He was born in 360 AH in Khārazm, and died in 440 AH in Ghazna.

[231] In Abū Rayḥān Birūnī, *al-Āthār al-Bāqīya an al-Qurūn al-Khālīya* (n. p.: Ibn Sina Press, 1352), pp. 60–62, there are other names mentioned for the pre-Islamic months, and the similarities are explained. The narrator then says: "Of course, these belong to ancient times, but they changed to how they are now in the Age of Ignorance, before Islam. The names of those months are al-Muʿtamir, Khuwwān, Ḥuntam, Nājir, Ṣuwān, Zabbāʾ, al-Aṣam, Nāfiq, Huwāʾ, ʿĀdil, Wāghil, and Burak, but sometimes the history and order of the names differ." The best poem composed in this respect is that of Ṣāḥib Ismāʿil Ibn Abbād:

أَرَدْتَ شُهُورَ الْعَرَبِ فِي الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ فَخُذْهَا عَلَى سَرْدِ الْمُحَرَّمِ تُشْرِكِ
فَمُؤْتَمِرٌ يَأْتِي وَمِنْ بَعْدُ نَاجِرٌ وَخُوَانٌ مَعْ صُوَانَ يُجْمَعُ فِي شَرَكْ
حَنِينٌ وَزَبَّا وَالْأَصَمُّ وَعَادِلٌ وَنَافِقٌ مَعْ وَغْلٍ وَرَنَّةَ مَعْ بُرَكْ

"If you want to know the names of the Arab months in the Age of Ignorance, count them from Muḥarram, and put them in order like this (because it was commonly agreed that the months start with Muḥarram): the first month is called Muʿtamir, and then Nājir, Khuwwān and Ṣuwān follow in order. And the months of Ḥanin, Zabbāʾ, al-Aṣam, ʿĀdil, and Nāfiq with Wāghil and Warana and Burk come one after another."

[232] *Qalāmis*

قَلَامِس

is the plural form of

قَلَمَس

which means "a sea full of water," and was the title of the tribe of Banī Kināna in the Age of Ignorance. It was given as a title to Ḥudhayfat Ibn Abd Faqīm Kinānī and then, one after another, to his heirs. The last one, who was the seventh, was Abū Thumāma Junādat Ibn ʿAuf (Abū Thumāma Junādat Ibn ʿAuf Ibn Omayyad Ibn Qalʿ Ibn ʿIbād Ibn Qalʿ bin Ḥudhayfa), and if we consider the minimum age of each of them as 30, this amounts to 210 years. If we take away 10 years for the Migration, this title would have apeared 200 years before the Migration. Miqrīzī clarifies this in his *Khuṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 54.

[233] That is, the amount of surplus days put together during the calculated lunar year obtained from the number in the solar year would be calculated with another solar year. Miqrīzī (born 845 AH) talks about this kind of calculation in Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Alī, known as Ta'zīrī, *al-Mawāᶜiz wa al-ᶜItibār bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wa al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 56.

[234] *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*, pp. 62–63.

[235] Ibid., p. 332.

[236] Abū Mashᶜar Falakī was one of the astronomers, not to be confused with Abū Mashᶜar Nājih Ibn Abd al-Raḥmān Sandī, a famous historian who wrote *Mughāzī* and died in 170 AD.

[237] This book is, however, untraceable, although Abdul al-Jabbār Ibn Muhammad Kharaqī, who died in Marv in 553 AH, mentions it in his *Muntah al-Idrāk fi Taqāsim al-Aflāk*, and Mahmoud Afandī, who was later known as Mahmoud Pāshā Falakī, obtained a copy of the original book that is kept in a museum in Paris, and then published it in an Asian magazine called *Journal Āsīyātik*.

[238] This amount as demonstrated by the scholars is known as "the figure." The circling of every lunar month consists of two successive parallel shuttles within a certain distance, which is 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes (29 d., 12 h., 44 m.), and this is multipled to 354 d., 8 h., 48 m., because each solar year is roughly 365 days, since with 6 extra hours it becomes approximately 365 days. Therefore, the extra time in the lunar year comes to about 10 days, 21 hours, and 12 minutes (10 d. 21 h., 12 m.), the same amount that Abū Mashᶜar mentioned.

[239] *ᶜIlm al-Falak Tārīkh ind al-Arab fi Qurūn al-Wusṭā* was written by an Italian astronomer, Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1911), pp. 87–89.

[240] The original reference is *ᶜIlm al-Falak*, pp. 83–99.

[241] As in *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, pp. 188–189, it states that the lunar months are twelve, the first of which is Muḥarram. Since a lunar year is counted as 354 days, every 33 Syriac years, one year is added to the Arabic month. There exists no *Nawrūz* in the Arabic months, and when the pre-Islamic Arabs wanted to match their months with the Syriac months, every three years they added a month called a *nas*, meaning "delay," to the total number, regarding it as a "leap." God reproached their action and sent down the verse *innamā al-nasīᵓ zīyadat fi al-kufr* (the postponement [of the sacred months] increases disbelief) as a warning about their wrong belief.

The Arabs then set the months in order, calling the first month of the year *Muḥarram* (prohibited), because fighting and looting were prohibited during that time. They called the second month *Ṣafar*, because it would be then that the markets would be set up in Yemen. Since people gathered there to supply provisions and other necessary goods, whoever stayed away would go hungry.

Some have said that this second month was called *Ṣafar* because it was then that people would leave the towns to prepare to fight. The word *Ṣafar* is taken from the phrase *ṣafirat al-dār minhum*, meaning "the house was abandoned by the dweller."

The two *rabīᶜ* combine as *rabīᶜ rabīᶜ* (spring), because in those two months people and cattle would consume greenery. The answer to those who might claim that this can be done in other months as well is that these two months occurred in the spring, and had already been named *rabīᶜ*. Therefore, even though these two months rotated, people still knew them as *rabīᶜ rabīᶜ*. Similarly, they used to join together two *jamādī* as *jamādī thānī*, because in two months water would freeze and subside. When these names were given to those two months, people did not know that the cold and warm seasons were also changeable, and that the true timings would alter. They called the next month *rajab*, because they were frightened during tha month, the name being derived from the phrase

رَجَبْتُ الشَّيءَ

meaning "you were afraid of that thing." The month Shaʿbān means "setting out towards water for fighting and looting." And Ramaḍān is named after the hot season and the hot desert sands. Another characteristic of Ramaḍān is that it is one of the Names of God; thus one should speak of "the month of Ramaḍān." The next month is called *Shawwāl*, because it is the time when the male and female camels draw closer together, and the male camels always raise their tails to demonstrate their desire for mating. On the other hand, people disapprove of this month, and do not marry at that time. The following month is

ذوالقعدة

and people stop fighting and looting and remain at home. Finally, there is the month of

ذوالحجة

when people make the *ḥajj* pilgrimage.

It becomes clear by our explanation and that of Abū Rayḥān Birūnī in *Āthār al-Bāqīya* that these names had been used previously for the solar months, and then used as they are now for the lunar months with the advent of Islam. The *nas* was instigated for lawful

duties, but God decreed that it was a kind of blasphemy.

[242] In the eight-volume series of the *Tafsīr of Imam Fakhr Rāzī*, vol. 4, p. 634, it states:

قد أجمعوا على أن هذه الاربعة ثلاثة منها سردٌ وهي ذو القعدة وذو الحجة والمحرم، وواحد فرد وهو رجب.

And on page 635 it states

ذَٰلِكَ الدِّينُ الْقَيِّمُ

which refers to the number twelve, because the pagans calculated a year of thirteen months.

[243] *Sīra al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 289.

[244] *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 110; *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 290; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 302.

[245] God has guided the present writer to compile this breakdown of the lunar calendar in a lawful scientific and encyclopedic fashion, within which there are technical discussions that can be easily understood concerning all relevant questions. This analysis logically proves that the moon must be seen at the beginning of every lunar month, and that the astronomers' statements regarding accurate readings of the astronomical table have nothing to do with the religious law. This accords with the verse in the Qurʾan and hadiths from the Prophet that indicate when to fast and when to break the fast. All the lunar months begin when the new moon is seen above the horizon. Wherever the moon cannot be seen, it will certainly be seen the following night, which would constitute the night of the new moon for the people living there. Therefore, the well-known ruling that the month begins in each part of the world when the new moon appears in that area is correct. Hence, statements that claim that the sighting of the new moon in one part of the world indicates the beginning of the month for everyone throughout the world are unreliable for several reasons. This lawful scientific analysis was written in Arabic as

and was published in the sixth volume of the series entitled *The Science and Knowledge of Islam.*

[246] In the *Niṣāb* the months are given in order as follows: "There are two Teshrins, and two Kānūns, and there are Shubāṭ, Āzar, Naysān, and Ayār, Ḥazirān and Tamūz, Āb and the Aylūl; Save them as my commemoration to all."

Concerning the count of the days: "The first Teshrin is thirty-one days, but the last Teshrin is thirty days. The first Kānūn is thirty-one days, and so also is the last Kānūn. Shubāṭ is twenty-eight days, but it is twenty-nine days in the leap year. Āzar is thirty-one days, Naysān thirty days, Ayār thirty-one days, Ḥazirān thirty days, Tamūz thirty-one days, Āb thirty-one days, and Aylūl thirty days." This is taken from *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf* of Masʿūdī. The famous elegy *Niṣāb* has the following:

لاولالب لاولالاشش مه است لل کط وکط لل شهور کوته است

The Roman months converted to Arabic are Ḥamal, Thaur, and Juz. That is, the Roman months start with Ḥamal, and the numbering goes on in order as thirty-one, thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-one, thirty-one, thirty-one, and these six months in order are said to be سنبله (*sunbola*). The next six months have thirty, thirty, twenty-nine, twenty-nine, thirty, and thirty days, and are called *Ḥūt*, which altogether come to 365 days. As the solar year is 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 45 seconds, and does not fall behind, the small difference has to be combined and added as a day to the leap year.

[247] As the mission of the Prophet began on the twenty-seventh of Rajab and he stayed in Mecca for thirteen years before migrating to Medina on the twelfth of Rabīʿ Awwal, his stay in Mecca was exactly twelve years and seven and a half months. He then went to Mecca and lived there for nine years and sixteen days, that is, from Rabīʿ Awwal of the first year of the Migration up until the twenty-eighth of Ṣafar of the eleventh year of the Migration. The Migration was in June, 622, according to the Christian Gregorian calendar.

[248] The Ottomans were also aware of this about seventy years earlier, and they also changed their official calendar to solar in the lunar year 1256. But although they changed to the solar year, they also maintained the lunar. Therefore, since then their calendar represents neither the lunar nor the solar year. They gave Roman names such as Shubāṭ, Tashrin, and so on, to the solar years for seventy years. Up to the time of writing this, that is, the first of Rabīᶜ, 1405 AH, 150 years have passed, and the Ottoman calendar should be 1400. But when Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā came to power, he not only abolished the Hijrī date and changed it to the Christian calendar, but he did away with all the customs and traditions, including the alphabet. He also closed mosques and changed the end of the week from Friday to Sunday.

[249] See Ismāʿīl Rāʾīn, *Firāmāsons in Iran* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1352 HS), vol. 2, pp. 49–50, p. 54, p. 75, pp. 142–147, and p. 451.

[250] Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 531–534.

[251] Sayyid Muhammad Tadayyun greatly assisted in bringing the Pahlavis to power, and for many years he was the parliamentary chief of the ministry. After him, his son got the same post.

[252] Masᶜūdī mentions these names in *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Sharaf al-Islamiyya, 1357 AH), p. 184.

[253] It was in this way that, according to Khayyām's account, there must be eight leap years every thirty-three years so that there are no differences. According to him, there must be a leap year every four years, and at the end of the fifth year, each thirty-third year. Thus, in the last cycle, there would be four normal years followed by a leap year.

[254] Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī has these names in his Journal (1309 HS), p. 79.

[255] In *Lughat Nāme-yi Dehkhudā* (*The Dictionary of Dehkhudā*), concerning the name "Amordād," the author says: "In the *Avistā* it says that the suffix 'tat' is not used with 'Amortat,' and it is the same in the case of 'Khordād.' Once this word is formed of two parts, the first is the letter 'A,' which is a particle indicating a question, and stands for 'no' in English. In Zoroastrianism, the term 'Amordād' stands for 'Amshāspandī,' which represents the everlasting nature of Ormuzd (the principle of good). He is the guardian of plants and all growth." See Ibrāhīm Pour Dawood, *The Culture of Ancient Iran*, p. 59. See also Dr. Moeen Amshāspandān, *Farsi Literature*, for Mozdista and its effect.

The summary of what we have derived from *The Dictionary of Dehkhudā* concerns the suspension of the subject of Mordād. He also says: "Amordād is the fifth month of the year, and the seventh of the month is the manifestation of the everlasting Mazdistā in the world, and the Paradise of divine forgiveness. It is the reward for those who do good, and in the world Amordād is the guardian of plants."

The Greek historian Aestabun visited the Temple of Amordād in Asia Minor on the Day of Amordād, when the festival of the month of Amordād was established. The Iranian Zoroastrians also call it Amordād (from the margin of Dr. Moeen's book *Burhān Qāṭiᶜ*). He also mentions the suspension of the term "Tat," which is a suffix for the third person feminine.

In the same dictionary, he says that *Amshāspand* represents the angels and cherubim, and in the *Avistā* it is written as "Ameshah and Sepantah." From the first two parts, indicating the negative, the term "mashah" originates from "marr," which means "to die." The second part (*Sepantah*) means "holy," and together this stands for "The Holy Everlasting."

The number of the Amshāspandān, or the territory of the angels, is seven, which are included in the current twelve months of the year. Hūman is the equivalent of Bahman, Asha and Hishtah are equivalents of Ordībehesht, Khashtara and Aʾīriya are Shahrīvar, Sepanta and Armaʾitī are Sepant Armaz, Haʾūrūtāt is Khordād, and Amortāt is Amordād. Above these six is Sepantāmīnīyū (Holy Wisdom). Later on, there are Ahūrmazda and the Dargāts, from the ancient part of the *Avistā*, and Amshāspandān is mentioned many times.

[256] They did this so recklessly that they did not even adjust it, and were content with how it was. They carelessly assigned thirty days to the month of Isfand, and this is why later, in the year 1308, they were nearly mistaken about the exact time and date. It was generally clear that the fourth year after the years 305–307 had to be a leap year, but they made it an ordinary year. As the year 1309 was the end of a group of thirty-three years and, as usual, would have been a leap year, they mistakenly printed a calendar with thirty days for the month of Isfand. It was an obvious mistake made by the parliament. See Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, *The Year Book* (1309), p. 78.

[257] The subjects related to session 143 of the parliament are all recorded in the official newspaper, 1010–1014 and 1056–1060. It was discussed on the morning of Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of Ḥūt, 1303, which conforms with the twenty-first of Shaʿbān, 1342, of the lunar calendar.

[258] This was practiced during working hours, since the lunar months begin after sunset. In Islam, it is clear how many hours of the day and night have passed, because sunset indicates the beginning of the night. With the solar calendar we know that five o'clock in the afternoon means that seven hours of the day are left, and similarly, nine o'clock in the evening indicates that three hours are left. But it is simple and useful to begin the day at sunset, because the Muslim knows when his day and nighttime duties are established. The hours that are set at noon do not properly distinguish night from day, and determine only midday and midnight. Since the Islamic day begins at sunset, it is unrelated to midnight. Besides, one o'clock in the morning does not indicate the true passing of the day. For Muslims, the morning begins at dawn, and their daily life begins at sunrise, rather than midnight. A starting point at midnight disregards dawn and sunset, and time is divided into a.m. and p.m., as in other parts of the world. In this way, a day begins at twelve o'clock midnight, and before midnight is the previous day. According to the lunar calendar, each day has its own night, that is, the night of the fourteenth of Ramaḍān means the night after the fourteenth day. However, as the middle of the day is set in a way that conforms with foreign countries, the government has adjusted time on the basis of Greenwich Mean Time.

[259] We should be aware that from the beginning of Islam until now, all Muslims have set their calendar according to the Migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, and the acceptance of the parliamentary decree undermines Islam and respect for the Prophet. Masʿūdī has written in *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*, pp. 195–240, that after the Migration, the Muslims gave titles to each year by which they would be known. Thus, the Year of the Migration is known as *al-Hijrat*, the following year as *al-Amr*, the third year *at-Tamḥīṣ*, the fourth *al-Tarfiya*, the fifth *al-Ahzāb*, the sixth *al-Esteʿnās*, the seventh *al-Esteghlāb*, the eighth *al-Fath*, the ninth *Rasena*, the tenth *Ḥajjt al-Widāʾ*, and the eleventh *Sanat al-Wafāt*.

And on page 252 he says that in the seventeenth or eighteenth year, Omar discussed with the Prophet's companions what would constitute a good system of times and dates for the Muslims. There were various opinions, but Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib stated that they should start the date from the time of the Prophet's Migration. They unanimously agreed, and they also accepted that the count of the months should begin from Muḥarram.

[260] Allāma Waḥid was the son of Shaykh Abū al-Qāsim, the chief scholar of Kermānshāh, and one of the grandchildren of Āyatollah Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir Waḥid Behbahānī. He was a religious student of Najaf Ashraf and masters such as Āqā Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Iraqi. It is said that he received several recommendations from well-known scholars and jurisprudents. When in 1314 HS they accepted mixed groups of men and women, he took part in the groups in Kirmanshāh. He was the host of Āqā Sayyid Asghar Shāh, and police chiefs and other officials were invited along with their unveiled wives. Allāma Waḥīdī, who was a learned scholar, wore clerical robes, and entered the party with his wife. Soon after, he began reading a poem he had composed about the veiling of women: "By the religion of Ahmad, the Messenger, the veil is unnecessary." He then began praising the Pahlavis and the Shah. Later on, he went to Tehran, removed his religious clothes, turban, and mantle, put on a normal suit, shaved, and wore a tie. During his lifetime he was in the service of the Shah as the religious cleric of the court, and finally a member of parliament and a minister. However, in the end he reaped the consequences, as the Qur'an says: ...*As for those who disbelieve, disaster ceases not to strike them because of what they do, or it dwells near their home until the promise of God comes to pass, for, verily, God will not fail in His promise* (13: 31).

During fifty years of aggressive rule, Waḥīdī planned many strategies in support of the Shah, and bartered his religion, nobility, and respect for a trifling worldly life. He sought fame in the Shah's court until he encountered the Divine Wrath, and was cut off in this world and the Hereafter. As the Qur'an says:

خسر الدنیا والاخرة ذلك هو الخسران المبین

he entered Hell and was united with his masters. If there is torture in this world, we should consider what can happen in the Hereafter, for, as is said:

ولو لم یکن الا الموت لکفی، کیف وما بعد الموت اعظم وادهی.

[261] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2, p. 101; *Tarīkh Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 229; *al-Kāmil Ibn Athīr*, vol. 3, p. 117; *Sharḥ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd*, vol. 2, p. 24.

[262] Muṭahharī was martyred on the fifth of Jamādī al-Thānī, 1399, or the twelfth of Ordībehesht, 1358.

[263] He died on the morning of Sunday, the eighteenth of Muḥarram al-Ḥarām, 1402 AH, three hours before noon, but they delayed the burial so that his relatives and friends could gather for the funeral.

[264] Mudarris was martyred on the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān, 1356, the equivalent of the tenth of Āzar, 1316.

[265] The martyrdom of Shaykh Faḍluallah Nūrī was on the thirteenth of Rajab, 1327, in Sepah Square, Tehran.

[266] Concerning the Eid al-Ghadīr in *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, p. 149, Kulaynī has narrated from Sahl Ibn Zīyād, quoting Abd al-Raḥmān Sālim from his father: "I asked Imam Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad if there is any other Eid for the Muslims apart from the Eids of Friday, Aḍḥā, and Fiṭr, and he replied: 'Yes, there is another Eid that is the most respected of them all.' I asked to know which Eid it was, and he said: 'It is the day that the Prophet assigned the Master of the Faithful and said: "Of whomsoever I am master, so too is Ali is his master."' Then I asked what day it was, and he said: 'Each year it is on the eighteenth of Dhi al-Ḥajja,' and he went on to explain all the activities for that day, such as prayer, remembering God, blessing the Holy Prophet and so on."

However, if one wants to know the day of Ghadīr according to the solar calendar, the Imam does not mention it, stating that the standard for the days, months, and years is the lunar calendar, not the solar. Eid al-Ghadīr is on the eighteenth of Dhi al-Ḥajja. The lunar days continually change each year, and a lunar month never occupies the position of a solar month. For example, one year Eid al-Ghadīr might occur in the spring, and another year in the summer. Therefore, since the religious dates follow the lunar months, it is unnecessary to follow the solar months. On hearing what the Imam said, the man received his answer, that the correct day is the eighteenth of Dhi al-Ḥajja.

[267] The Roman months in order are as follows: the first Tishrīn (thirty-one days), the second Tishrīn (thirty days), the first Kānūn (thirty-one days), the second Kānūn (thirty days), Shubāṭ (twenty-eight days, and twenty-nine days in a leap year), Āzār (thirty-one days), Naysān (thirty days), Ayār (thirty-one days), Ḥazirān (thirty days), Tamūz (thirty-one days), Āb (thirty-one days), and Aylūl (thirty days).

The Roman months compare with the Zhūlin calendar, with a leap year every four years, which increases it by one day at the end of Shubāṭ, making a leap year of 366 days. The Christian Caesarian years are similar to the Roman years, with the difference that the year begins with January, and the celebration of the birth of the Messiah is on the twenty-fifth of December. The months are similar to the Roman ones, and it is known as the Zhūlin calendar: January (thirty-one days), February (twenty-eight days, and twenty-nine days in a leap year), March (thirty-one days), April (thirty days), May (thirty-one days), June (thirty days), July (thirty-one days), August (thirty days), September (thirty days), October (31 days), November (thirty days) and December (thirty-one days). It is evident that the only difference from the Roman calendar is the names of the months. The number of days in each month match up. As January is between the first and second months of winter, it has the same number of days as the first Kanūn, and February is the same as Shubāṭ, and so on. In the Zhūlin calendar, as with the Roman one, a year consists of 365 days and 6 hours (i.e., 365.25 days), and there is therefore a leap year every four years.

In the Gregorian calendar, since the Christian calendar differed from the actual solar months, it meant that every 120 years the date moved backwards. Later, the Gregorian system was adjusted by an Italian astronomer, so that there was a leap year every 4 years and a decrease of 3 days every 400 years. Then there was a leap year every four years. This was done because the date according to the Gregorian calendar was ten days behind. Since then, the Gregorian calendar has been accepted and the Zhūlin calendar has come to an end. Nowadays, all Christians observe the Gregorian calendar.

However, the solar Hijrī calendar, which begins at the time of the Migration of the Prophet, follows the actual solar year and has twelve orderly lunar months, without thirty-two days in one month and then twenty-eight days in another, and is as follows: Ḥamal (thirty-one days), Thaur (thirty-one days), Jauza (thirty-two days), Saraṭān (thirty-one days), Asad (thirty-one days), Sunbola (thirty-one days), Mīzān (thirty days), Aqrab (thirty days), Qaws (twenty-nine or thirty days), Jady (twenty-nine days), Dalve (thirty days), and Ḥūt (thirty days). The weather at the beginning of the solar Hijrī year is always mild. The adjustment for leap years is the same as with the Malikshāhī system, which is explained later.

Yazdgerdī's calendar began when he took power as the third Sassanid ruler, which was in the eleventh year of the Migration. The years in this calendar are approximate, because they were 365 days, and a leap year every four years, with the months as follows: Farvadīn (thirty days), Ordībehesht (thirty days), Khordād (thirty days), Tīr (thirty days), Mordād (thirty days), Shahrīvar (thirty days), Mehr (thirty days), Ābān (thirty days), Āzar (thirty days), Day (thirty days), Bahman (thirty days), and Isfand (thirty days). Five days were added at the end of Āban or Isfand to obtain the five days by which the calendar had fallen behind.

The calendar of Jalālī of Malikshāhī is the same as that made with the cooperation of Ḥākim Omar Khayyām. The reason for it was that up until then, Mālikshāhī's was used, although Yazdgerdī's calendar was in circulation, but had fallen behind because of the delay of one day each year. While basically maintaining the same Yazgerdī system, five days were added in the new one at the end of every four years. For recording the deficit and the leap years, they decided to set it after thirty-three years. Thus, with a leap year every four years, the calendar would not have a deficit for 6,000 years.

For the ancient solar calendar that was made official in the fifth round of the parliament, they adjusted the first six months of the year from Farvardin onwards to thirty-one days, the next five months to thirty days, and the final month, Isfand, to twenty-nine days, except in a leap year, when Isfand would also be thirty days.

[268] Or "God has assigned me to make known an easily achievable sacred law."

[269] Both the Shi'a and the Sunnis have related that the Prophet said: "The lawful things of Muhammad remain lawful until the Day of Resurrection, and his unlawful things are unlawful until that Day."

[270] In *Majma' al-Bayān*, vol. 2, p. 24, after commenting on verse 9:36, Shaykh Ṭabarsī says: "In this verse, it is made clear that the worthy months in God's sacred law are the lunar months, because God is aware that this is in man's best interests. It is also easy for the Shi'i and the Sunnis to know the positions (of the months)."

[271] "Whoever is told he will receive a reward for his good deeds and then does good deeds for that reward, the reward is given to him, although it is not as it was announced to him."

[272] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, pp. 247, 249, and 250; *Sunan Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 134; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 2, p. 187; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 666; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2, which mentions the Farewell Pilgrimage; and *Ḥabīb al-Sīyar*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 410.

[273] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 303; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 665.

[274] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*. vol. 5, p. 134.

[275] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, 134; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, vol. 2 (which mentions Ḥijjat al-ʾWidāʾ).

[276] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat* vol. 5, p. 193,

[277] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, pp. 146–147; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 185; *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Saᶜd*, vol. 2, p. 182.

[278] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 191.

[279] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 146.

[280] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 305.

[281] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 504; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 662

[282] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 305; *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, pp. 141 and 142; and *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 199.

[283] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 197; *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5. p. 146.

[284] To determine an interpretation of the words that mean "the greater *ḥajj*," we should be aware that the word interpreted as "the greater" is an adjectival form of the word يوم ("day"), but not "*ḥajj*," and means "the greatest day for sacrifice."

[285] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 203.

[286] Ibid., p. 300.

[287] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, pp. 150–151; and *Furūᶜ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, pp. 481–482.

[288] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 199; *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, pp. 138–139.

[289] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, pp. 480–482; *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 148; *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 300.

[290] See Fayḍ Kāshanī, *Maḥajjat al-Bayḍā* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1339–42 AH), 8 vols. edition; *The Book of the Secret of the Ḥajj*, vol. 2, p. 179.

[291] This provoked certain people, who were arrogant in relation to others, to the behaviors of dogs and similar animals.

[292] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 201–203.

[293] *Sunan-i Bayhaqī*, vol. 5, p. 151.

[294] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 306.

[295] *Ḥabīb al-Sīyar*, vol. 1, p. 401.

[296] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, pp. 250–251.

[297] *Furūᶜ al-Kāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 250–251.

[298] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Hidāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 203–205.

[299] In the footnotes on page 161 of *The Pious Man of the Quraysh*, Khunayzī refers to *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd*, vol. 3, p. 306; *al-Sīrat al-Nabawīyya*, p. 85, p. 197; *Thamarāt al-Aurāq*, pp. 2–4; *al-Abbās*, pp. 22–23; *Hāshim wa Umayyad*, p. 167; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshaf*, vol. 1, p. 448 and vol. 2, p. 10; *Tadhkira al-Khawās*, p. 9; *Muᶜjam al-Qubūr*, vol. 1, p. 186; *al-Manāqib*, p. 34; the *Dīvān* (*The Poetic Works*) of Abī Ṭālib, p. 7; The first verse in *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 1, p. 322, and the last two verses in *Iṣāba*, vol. 4, p. 116; and *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 7, p. 334. He also says Thaᶜlabi mentions it in his *Commentary*. In addition, he has said that Abī Ṭālib, *Maqātil*, ᶜAbdullah bin Abbās, Qāsim Ibn Maḥḍarah, and ᶜAṭāᵓ Ibn Dīnār cooperated to verify these works, in a way similar to that of Barzanji, who recorded the well-known words of Abī Ṭālib.

Bayhaqī has these elegies in *Dalāᵓil al-Nubuwwah*, and commentary on *Kashshaf*, vol. 2, p. 10, where he has extracted them from Ibn Isḥāq, quoting Yaᶜqūb Ibn Otayba Ibn Mughayrat Ibn Akhnas.

Abū al-Fidāᵓ, a Sunni, mentions the same poem in his *History*, some lines of which have been been quoted by Ibn Hishām in *Qaṭr al-Nadī*, in the section on purity, and also by Suyūṭī in *Sharḥ Alfiyya Ibn Mālik*.

[300] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 205 and 199.

[301] *Maḥajjat al-Bayḍā*, vol. 2, p. 182.

[302] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 206.

[303] Ibid., pp. 206–207.

[304] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, pp. 206–207.

[305] Ibid.

[306] Ibid.

[307] *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 5, p. 207; *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 307; *Ḥabīb al-Sīyar*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 412.

[308] *Sīrat al-Ḥalabīyya*, vol. 3, p. 307; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 6, p. 666.

[309] Ṣāḥib Ibn ᶜIbād, according to the narration in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 66.

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